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Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

German-American Historical Review

(Published with the co-operation of the Germanistic Society of America)

Jahrbuch

der

Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois

Herausgegeben von

Julius Goebel

Jahrgang 1930

(VOL. XXX)

Im Auftrage der

Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois

German-American Historical Society of Illinois

Room 1223 Steuben Building, 188 West Randolph St.

CHICAGO, ILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1930

A. BRUDERHAUSEN

ONE FRENCH TERRACE

YONKERS, N. Y.

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Deutſch-Amerikaniſche Geſchichtsblätter

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Festschrift

Zur Feier des zweihundertjährigen Geburtstags von
Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben

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Steuben
Maj: Gen:

Vorwort.

Wie das letzte Jahrbuch dem Andenken von Karl Schurz gewidmet war, so will der vorliegende diesjährige Band zur Feier seines zweihundertjährigen Geburtstages das Gedächtnis eines Deutsch-Amerikaners festhalten, der diesem Lande unsterbliche Dienste geleistet hat. Man hat es oft beklagt, daß sich unter den Helden der amerikanischen Revolution kein deutscher Name befinde, der sich, wie der Franzose Lafayette, für immer die dankbare Erinnerung des amerikanischen Volkes gesichert hätte. Zwar der Name Baron von Steubens ist der amerikanischen Geschichtschreibung nicht unbekannt, doch erscheint er dort hauptsächlich in der untergeordneten Stelle eines talentvollen Drillmeisters der Armee Washingtons. Erst seit verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit ist in der Würdigung der Verdienste unseres großen Landsmannes eine Wendung eingetreten, dank den Bemühungen unseres ausgezeichneten früheren Congreßmitgliedes Richard Bartholdts um die Errichtung des Steubendenkmals in Washington und in Berlin, und schließlich durch die Forschungen des amerikanischen Generals John McAuley Palmer, der die militärische und staatsmännische Größe Steubens zuerst ins rechte Licht stellte. Sein trefflicher Aufsatz über „Steuben als militärischer Staatsmann", sowie die ausgezeichnete Rede Bartholdts zur Feier des hundertjährigen Gedenktags von Steubens Ankunft in Amerika, werden darum beide den Lesern des Jahrbuchs willkommen sein. Ebenso wird sie die hier abgedruckte, erste deutsche biographische Skizze Steubens von wissenschaftlichem Wert, die im Jahre 1796 erschien und den hervorragenden Gelehrten, Daniel Christoph Ebeling, den besten Amerikakenner jener Zeit, zum Verfasser hat, interessieren. Auch darf die schwungvolle Rede, mit der Dr. C. J. Hexamer, der verdienstvolle Präsident des deutsch-amerikanischen Nationalbundes, bei der Enthüllungsfeier des Steubendenkmals (7. Dezember 1910) als Vertreter des amerikanischen Deutschtums seinen großen Volksgenossen feierte, an dieser Stelle nicht fehlen.

Wenn die amerikanische Geschichtschreibung dem wahren Verdienste Steubens bisher so wenig gerecht ward, so lag der Grund

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dafür nicht zum geringsten daran, daß außer dem glänzenden Zeugnis, das Washington ihm noch am Tage seines Rücktritts vom Oberbefehl der Armee ausstellte, von Steuben selbst nichts Gedrucktes existierte, das einen tieferen Einblick in seinen Charakter und in seine Tätigkeit gewährt hätte. Selbst die vorzügliche Biographie Steubens, die Friedrich Kapp, versehen mit einer höchst anerkennenden Einleitung von George Bancroft im Jahre 1859 in englischer Sprache veröffentlichte, hat auf die historische Forschung und die allgemeine Würdigung des deutschen Revolutionshelden nicht so nachhaltig gewirkt, als man hätte erwarten sollen.

Die ungedruckten und vergessenen Schriften Steubens, die ich daher im Folgenden zu einer besonderen Gruppe vereinigt habe, wollen den Lesern des Jahrbuchs durch einige Beispiele den Mann und sein Werk näher bringen. Sie stammen zum größten Teil aus dem literarischen Nachlaß, den die Bibliothek der Historischen Gesellschaft von New York verwahrt. Für die gütige Erlaubnis, die einzelnen Schriften veröffentlichen zu dürfen, sei der Gesellschaft hier besonders gedankt.

Mit Recht hat General Palmer in seinem kürzlich erschienenen Buche, "Washington, Lincoln, Wilson, Three War Statesmen" (S. 44) bemerkt, daß kein englischer oder französischer Offizier jener Zeit an militärischer Ausbildung und an Kriegserfahrung sich mit Steuben als Lehrer der Wissenschaft und Kunst des Krieges habe messen können. Da er diese Ausbildung in der Schule Friedrichs des Großen, unter der persönlichen Leitung dieses größten Meisters der Kriegskunst im 18. Jahrhundert erhalten hatte, so dürfen wir es als das höchste Verdienst Steubens ansprechen, daß es ihm gelang, durch Lehre und Beispiel den Geist des preußischen Heeres den amerikanischen Verhältnissen entsprechend, in die amerikanische Armee zu verpflanzen und damit den entscheidenden deutschen Beitrag zum schließlichen Erfolg des Befreiungskrieges zu liefern. So erkennt er bei seiner Ankunft in Valley Forge sofort den Hauptmangel der amerikanischen Truppen im Fehlen jeglicher Einheit, Ordnung und Disciplin, an die er als preußischer Offizier von Jugend auf gewöhnt war. Diese zu schaffen wird nun sein nächstes Ziel. Kaum zeigt sich der außerordentliche Erfolg seiner Lehre auf

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die Offiziere und Soldaten, da erreicht ihn auch schon der Neid gewisser einheimischer Waffengenossen; Neid, der heimtückische Feind aller hervorragenden Deutsch-Amerikaner, die sich je in der Oeffentlichkeit hervortaten. Wie hat einst derselbe Neid an Männern wie Karl Follen und Karl Schurz genagt und ihr Schaffen zu untergraben gesucht! Es zeugt für die einzige Größe Washingtons, daß er die Bedeutung Steubens und seiner unersetzbaren Mission voll erkannte, ihn neidlos neben sich duldete und dem heimlich gehaßten „Ausländer" mit Rat und Tat an die Hand ging, um das Vorurteil gegen den „Fremden" (foreigner) zu überwinden. Auf Washingtons Wunsch schrieb Steuben den Aufsatz „Memorandum", in dem er die Pflichten und die Befugnisse eines Generalinspektors der Armee nach preußischem Muster genau feststellte. Und mit Washingtons Zustimmung verfaßte er nach gleichem Vorbild das Exercierbuch, das dann über 100 Jahre lang in der amerikanischen Armee gebraucht wurde.

Auch nach Beendigung des Krieges fuhr Steuben fort seiner neuen Heimat in gleichem Sinne zu dienen. So entwarf er, von Washington aufgefordert, den Plan zu einer Militär-Akademie, wie sie später in West Point zur Ausführung kam, und so schrieb er den Aufsatz über die Bedeutung der militärischen Organisation in einer Demokratie. Dieser Aufsatz, zunächst für Washington bestimmt, wurde dann, nachdem ihn dieser durchgesehen und kleine Aenderungen gemacht hatte, als eine Art Aufruf Steubens an die Nation gedruckt. Als das wichtigste Dokument, das Steuben dem amerikanischen Volke hinterlassen hat, erscheint es an dieser Stelle in doppelter Form. Ein Vergleich des äußerst selten gewordenen gedruckten Aufrufs mit Steubens erstem Entwurf ist besonders lehrreich für sein intimes Verhältnis zu Washington sowohl, wie für Steuben, den amerikanischen Patrioten und politischen Denker.

Obwohl wir wissen, daß Steuben seine Schriften entweder in deutscher oder in französischer Sprache verfaßte, und sie dann von seinen Freunden Walker und North übersetzen ließ, so hat sich in seinem literarischen Nachlaß doch leider keine deutsche Schrift gefunden. Der ausführliche Brief an seinen Freund und Gönner von Frank in Hechingen ist dem 7. Bande von Schlözers bekanntem

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Briefwechsel entnommen. Steubens jahrelange Stellung als Präsident der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New York, sowie seine Mitgliedschaft in der deutsch-reformierten Kirche in New York bezeugen jedoch, daß sein glühender amerikanischer Patriotismus ihn nicht verhinderte, seinem deutschen Volkstum treu zu bleiben.

Als hochinteressantes Unikum ist dem Jahrbuch das Facsimile eines Militärmarsches beigefügt, das den Titel "Baron Stuben's American March" trägt. Das Original befindet sich in der New Yorker öffentlichen Bibliothek, der für die Erlaubnis zur Wiedergabe der Dank unserer Gesellschaft hiermit ausgesprochen sei. Ueber die Geschichte des Manuscripts schreibt mir Herr Richard E. Helbig, daß es „vor ungefähr 30 Jahren in den Besitz der N. Y. P. L. als ein Teil der Ford Collection kam, die J. P. Morgan der N. Y. P. L. schenkte. Der Chef unserer Musik-Division, Dr. Otto Kinkeldey, erklärte, das Schriftstück sei wahrscheinlich einem scrapbook entnommen, die Niederschrift möge um 1800 herum gemacht worden sein." Zum Schluß sei noch bemerkt, daß der Marsch in der Form eines Duetts, wahrscheinlich für 2 Flöten, geschrieben ist.

Als Anhang zu unserer Festschrift ist auf besonderen Wunsch von Herrn Ferdinand Thun in Reading, Pa., der Aufsatz über Conrad Weiser beigegeben, dem großen deutsch-amerikanischen Pionier des 18. Jahrhunderts, der von der Geschichtsforschung bisher ebenfalls ungebührlich vernachlässigt ward.

J. G.

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Baron von Steubens Geburtstag.

Von Julius Goebel.

Die vielumstrittene Frage nach dem eigentlichen Tage von Steubens Geburt drängt gerade in diesem Jahre, wo wir seine Zweijahrhundertfeier begehen werden, zu einer endgültigen Lösung. Schon Friedrich Kapp mußte sich, wie er in einer Fußnote seiner ausgezeichneten, noch immer nicht überholten Biographie des großen Generals berichtet, für ein bestimmtes Datum entscheiden. Da alle seine Quellen in diesem Punkte von einander abwichen, wandte er sich an einen der Nachkommen Steubens in Preußen, der ihm den 15. November 1730 als die Familientradition angab. Dieses Datum hat denn auch seitdem als das richtige gegolten, bis es von dem deutsch-amerikanischen Journalisten Anton B. C. Kalkhorst, auf Grund einer Notiz in der „Magdeburgischen Zeitung", vor mehreren Jahren angezweifelt und durch den 17. September 1730 ersetzt ward.

Als Kalkhorst in einem von ihm verfaßten, aber von einem anderen Herrn gehaltenen Vortrag vor der Steuben-Gesellschaft in Detroit seine von der Magdeburgischen Zeitung bereits gemachte „Entdeckung" zum ersten Male öffentlich aussprach und den Vortrag in der „Detroiter Abend-Post" vom 1. Oktober abdruckte, lief von Herrn Oberst-Leutnant a. D., Arndt von Steuben, einem Mitglied der Steuben-Familie in Deutschland, folgendes Schreiben an die Schriftleitung der Detroiter Abendpost ein:

In Ihrer Zeitung vom Donnerstag, 1. Oktober 1925 erschien ein Artikel: „Steuben und Steubengeist".

Der Inhalt dieses Artikels gibt mir zu folgenden Bemerkungen Anlaß:

1. In dem Artikel wird gesagt: Das Geschlecht der Steuben war kein Adelsgeschlecht. Diese Behauptung ist falsch. Das Geschlecht der Steuben gehört dem Mansfelder Uradel an. Das Ge-

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schlecht wird im Gothaischen Adels-Almanach — Band Uradel — geführt, in welchem nur solche Geschlechter nachgewiesen werden, deren Berechtigung hierzu von dem damals bestehenden Heroldsamt anerkannt ist.

Außerdem führe ich zum weiteren Beleg für die Richtigkeit meiner Behauptung an: 1. Das historische Portefeuille, vierter Jahrgang, Band I, 1785. Der betreffende Aufsatz ist überschrieben: Zwei zuverläßliche Nachrichten von dem Geschlecht und Herkommen des nordamerikanischen Generals Friedrich, Wilhelm, Ludolph, Gerhardt, Augustin von Steuben. Die in diesem Portefeuille gemachten Angaben stammen aus der Feder des Vaters des Amerikaners und sind absolut zuverlässig.

2. Zur weiteren Beweisführung für die Adelsgehörigkeit meines Geschlechtes führe ich an

a, Genealogisches-historisches Adels-Lexikon von Johann Friedrich Gadben, Leipzig, verlegt bei Johann Friedrich Glebitsch, 1740.

b, Nachricht von adligen Wappen, gesammelt von Christian, Friedrich, August von Meding, Weißenfels und Leipzig, bei Severin, 1788, No. 862 — Steuben.

c, Urkundenbuch der Klöster der Grafschaft Mansfeld, bearbeitet von Dr. Max Krühne, Halle, Druck und Verlag von Otto Kendel, 1888. Die ältesten hier angeführten Urkunden datieren von 20. 6. 1509; 3. 9. 1262*; 16. 10. 1271; 8. 11. 1330 u. s. w. Die mit einem * versehene Urkunde befindet sich im Staats-Archiv in Magdeburg.

d, Nach den hiesigen Feststellungen und Unterlagen ist das Geburtsdatum des amerikanischen Generals der 15. November 1730.

3. In dem Artikel steht ferner: „Das Geheimnis, das hinter der Verabschiedung Steubens steht, ist nie ganz enthüllt worden . . . vielleicht liegt der Schlüssel zu dem Geheimnis in einer anormalen geschlechtlichen Veranlagung, die ihm auch später seine Hofstellung in Hechingen kostete."

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Diese Behauptung kann nicht bewiesen werden, wäre also besser ausgelassen worden. Aus den hier vorliegenden Unterlagen ist über seinen Abschied aus der Armee kein Grund angegeben. Seine Stellung in Hechingen gab er auf, weil sie ihn auf die Dauer nicht befriedigte. Aus keinem hier vorliegenden Schriftstück läßt sich die Annahme des Artikelschreibers rechtfertigen.

Ich bitte diese meine Ausführungen zur Kenntnis zu nehmen, eine Richtigstellung in Ihrer Zeitung zu veranlassen und bin mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

sehr ergebenst

(gez.) Arndt von Steuben

Oberstleutnant a. D.

Oberneigk bei Breslau,

Villa Frieden, 17. 2. 26.

Die Abfuhr, die Kalkhorst in diesem Briefe nicht nur in Betreff des Geburtsdatums, sondern auch auf seine sonstigen unbewiesenen Behauptungen über Steuben zuteil ward, war wohl der Grund, warum er die von Oberstleutnant von Steuben erbetene Richtigstellung in seiner Zeitung unterließ. Erst nach seinem Tode fand der gegenwärtige Schriftleiter der Detroiter Abendpost, Herr Carl Sueßer, den wichtigen Brief unter den Redaktionspapieren und druckte ihn in seinem Blatte ab.

Nicht lange danach ging Herrn Sueßer ein Schreiben und eine Extranummer der „Magdeburgischen Zeitung" zu, worin darauf aufmerksam gemacht ward, daß der Bau eines Steubendenkmals in Magdeburg, anläßlich der 200. Wiederkehr des Geburtstags des Generals geplant worden sei, und daß am 17. September nächsten Jahres eine Abordnung der amerikanischen Steuben-Gesellschaft zu diesem Zwecke hinüberkommen werde. Daß der 17. September 1730 der Geburtstag Steubens gewesen sei, sei in den Spalten der „Magdeburgischen Zeitung" schon früher mitgeteilt worden. Zum Beweis für das Geburtsdatum fügte das Blatt im Klischee wie im Druck die folgende, dem Geburts- und Taufregister der Deutsch-Reformierten Gemeinde Magdeburgs entnommene Urkunde bei:

„Den vierunzwanzigsten (24.) September Eintausend siebenhundert und dreißig (1730), hat Herr Wilhelm Augustin von

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Steube, Königlich Preußischer Ingenieur-Leutnant allhier mit seiner Frau Eheliebsten Maria, Justina, Dorothea von Jagordin einen Sohn, welcher am 17. ejust geboren, taufen lassen, namens,

Friedrich, Wilhelm, Ludolph, Gerhard Augustin.

Die Pathen:

1. Se. Königliche Majestät in Preußen Friedrich Wilhelm.
2. Herr Ludolph von Lüderitz, Königl. Preußischer Oberforstmeister im Herzogthum Magdeburg.
3. Herr Gerhard von Wallrave, Königlicher Preußischer Obrist bei der Artillerie allhier.
4. Herr Augustin von Steube, Erster Prediger bei der Reformierten Gemeinde zu Brandenburg.
5. Frau von Metsch aus dem Hause Nordstemke.
6. Frau von Veltheim aus dem Hause Aderstädt.

Mit der Veröffentlichung dieser Urkunde schien das Datum von Steubens Geburt endgültig festgestellt. Nicht alle Fragen, die sich an das Datum knüpfen, waren jedoch damit gelöst, worauf schon Herr Sueßer in seinem Artikel in der „Detroiter Abendpost", der die Urkunde brachte, hinwies. Vor allem die Frage, wie kam die Familie, ja sogar der Vater Steubens dazu, den 15. November als den Geburtstag anzugeben? Auch der vorsichtige Forscher Friedrich Kapp sah sich vor diese Frage gestellt. Da er in seinen Quellen verschiedene Angaben über das Datum fand, wandte er sich, wie er in einer Anmerkung seiner Steubenbiographie berichtet, an den Leutnant von Steuben in Gumbinnen, einen entfernten Nachkommen unseres Generals, um das exakte Datum zu erfahren, und erhielt zur Antwort, daß es der 15. November 1730 sei. Dieser Tag war also schon um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts zur Familientradition geworden. Freilich über die Gründe, worauf sich diese Tradition stützte, erfahren wir nichts. Hätte sie schon zu Lebzeiten Steubens bestanden, dann wäre sie gewiß dem ausgezeichneten ersten Biographen unseres Generals, Christoph Daniel Ebeling, nicht entgangen. Ueber die Geburt Steubens berichtet er kurz: „Seine Mutter, aus dem adlichen Geschlechte der von Jagow, gebahr ihn zu Magdeburg im J. 1730." Das ist um so mehr zu verwundern, als er unter

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den Quellen seiner Lebensbeschreibung den Aufsatz von Steubens Vater an erster Stelle anführte.

Müssen wir uns daher über den Ursprung jener Familientradition mit der Annahme bescheiden, daß der Vater Steubens sich im Geburtsdatum seines Sohnes aus irgend welchen Gründen geirrt hat, dann ist das Zeugnis, das wir von General Steuben seit Kurzem selbst haben, von um so größerer Wichtigkeit.

Ende Januar 1929 kam in den Räumen der American Art Association in New York (Madison Ave., 56th to 57th Street) eine Sammlung von Briefen, und andern schriftlichen Urkunden aus der Zeit der amerikanischen Revolution, die sich in der Hinterlassenschaft von General William North, Adjutant und adoptirter Sohn Steubens, befand, zur öffentlichen Versteigerung. Um die Aufmerksamkeit weiterer Kreise auf dies Ereignis zu lenken, hatte die American Art Association einen prachtvoll ausgestatteten Katalog der einzigartigen Sammlung veröffenlicht, in dem die einzelnen Nummern verzeichnet und kurz erklärt wurden, ja in einzelnen, besonders wichtigen Fällen mit einem Facsimile der Handschrift begleitet waren. Dazu gehörte auch ein Brief, den Steuben am 18. September 1788 an W. North schrieb und der darum von so großer Wichtigkeit für uns ist, weil er darin von seiner Geburtstagsfeier am Tage zuvor (17. Sept.) spricht und erzählt, wie er ihn, zusammen mit ihrem gemeinsamen Freunde, Benjamin Walker, gefeiert hätte. Das Facsimile des Briefes lautet:

New York, Sept. 18, 1788.

Yesterday my dear Bill it was a year when you did cut your name and mine, in a big tree at Steuben, it was a year that the constitution was signed at Philadelphia, it was eleven years when Bourgoin capitulated at Saratoga, and it was mine own fifty-eight year————I celebrated the day in dining with our friend Walker, when we wished health and happiness to our friend in the woods.

Nothing yet from Don Quixoti Contrie, the first vessel must bring letters, till then patience.

Nothing yet decided by Congress, a new Report is made,

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my friends are warm, my enemies read hot and all I can do is to keep cool.

Armstrong and me have taken our winter quarters together, on the first of next month we shall occupy the corner house in Nassau street where Mr. Phargnes formerly lived. We pay 48£ till the first of May. I shall be there in the neighborhood of the Church, the Major and the Bishop, Armstrong near the Playhouse, some B-houses and blac Tam.

Our politicians are now busi in setling the Etiquette of the New Court. A Palas Royal [is to be prepared. Audience and leve days to be fixed, the ceremonies to be determined. My opinion as an old Courtier has been asked. I begun by abolishing all nut cracking after the desert. proposed the number of bows to be received and returned and made several useful observations. As to the Queen's Leve I shall say nothing. I wish it could be very late in the evening, and without candlelight. . . .

Van Borkel is become quite a gentleman since he is no more Dutch Minister, but what are all these creatures to you and me if nothing arrives from the Escurial.]

Das Facſimile des Briefes reicht in dem Katalog nur bis "A Palais Royal," die Fortſetzung, die ich in Klammern beigefügt habe, iſt dem Katalog entnommen, wo der Brief auf Seite 24 unter der Nummer 140 verzeichnet iſt.

Daß der Eingang des Briefes das genaue Datum von Steubens Geburtstag als am 17. September 1730 endgültig feſtſtellt, und damit die Eintragung in das Geburts- und Taufregiſter der Deutſch-Reformierten Kirche in Magdeburg beſtätigt, iſt außer aller Frage.

Dagegen bedarf die Stelle, wonach er Briefe aus dem "Don Quixote Contrie" (!) erwartet, einer näheren Erklärung.

In ſeiner finanziellen Not, die gerade im Jahre 1788 durch die unverzeihlich kleinliche Haltung des Kongreſſes hinſichtlich ſeiner Penſion aufs höchſte geſtiegen war, hatte Steuben den Plan gefaßt im Weſten Amerikas, der damals noch zu Spanien gehörte, eine deutſche Kolonie zu gründen. Er wandte ſich daher an die Spaniſche Regierung mit dem Erſuchen der geplanten Kolonie 250,000

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Acker am Mississippi zur Besiedelung zu gewähren, und wartete damals, als er den Brief an North schrieb, auf eine Antwort aus Spanien. Wäre, wie Friedrich Kapp mit Recht bemerkt, sein Plan durchgegangen, dann hätte die Geschichte der Gewinnung des Westens durch die Vereinigten Staaten gewiß einen anderen Verlauf genommen, und das reiche Mississippi-Tal wäre schon viele Jahre früher der Besiedelung erschlossen worden.

Leider sollte aus Steubens Plan nichts werden, was jedoch seinem Humor, wie der Ton dieses und anderer vertraulichen Briefe an North zeigt, keinen Eintrag tat.

Daß Steuben das Datum seines Geburtstages besser kannte als seine späteren Biographen, bedarf wohl keines Beweises. Wir sind ihm daher besonders dankbar, daß er es uns in dem vorstehenden Briefe zufällig erhalten hat.

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Steuben

An Address by Hon. Richard Bartholdt, delivered at Chicago, December 3, 1927

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen:

When the last time I had the honor of addressing a Chicago audience I said: "Mr. Toastmaster and Fellow Barbarians." It was during the war, and the diners were the members of the German Club. So you see that with the return of sanity my politeness has also come back.

We are gathered here today to commemorate an event in American history, with the emphasis on the word American. There are certain other organizations in this country which are in the habit of celebrating King George's birthday offering the first toast to the English king and the second to the President of the United States. We men of German ancestry, on the other hand, believing as we do in "America first," have always preferred to celebrate anniversaries significant to America. Even the so-called "German Days" are no exception to the rule, inasmuch as by them we commemorate the arrival of the first German colony on American soil.

And so today, in honoring the memory of Baron Steuben on the 150th anniversary of his arrival in this country, we pay homage to the man and his sterling qualities, but we also have in mind the great good which resulted for the American people from the voluntary offer of his services to George Washington in what was by all odds the darkest hour in our history. For let me say right here that without Baron Steuben, in the opinion of many historians, the cause of liberty and independence might have been lost.

Let history speak for itself. Frederick Wilhelm August von Steuben came to this country exactly a century and a half ago,

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on the 1st of December, 1777. He was then 47 years old, and, as a descendant of a military family, had practically been a soldier from his 14th year, when he accompanied his father in a most strenuous and bloody campaign. Reared in the rigorous military school of Frederick the Great, he entered the King's army at the age of 26, and participated in nearly all the great battles of the Seven Years' War. Later he became adjutant general of Frederick the Great, and in this position had occasion thoroughly to familiarize himself with the important tasks of providing for and equipping the troops, of securing and caring for arms and ammunition, of their inspection and control, and of the drilling and training of soldiers—the very essentials which later made his services so invaluable in the Revolutionary War.

At the end of the Seven Years' War he was granted a comfortable pension which would have enabled him to live a life of ease for the rest of his days, but on a visit to Paris he became acquainted with several prominent men of the French court, and also with Benjamin Franklin, the American emissary, who tried to prevail on him to offer his services to Gen. Washington. At this particular time things looked blue for the Colonists. Washington had been forced to retreat from New York, through New Jersey, and across the Delaware, and camped with a diminished and discouraged army in Pennsylvania. Despite this condition of affairs, due mainly to lack of discipline, the appeals in behalf of American freedom found an echo in Steuben's heart and he accepted the offers made to him. When, after a voyage of more than two months, he landed at Portsmouth, the first news he received was of American success in the State of New York and of the surrender of the English general, Burgoyne, with his whole army. New York, Philadelphia and nearly the whole coast, however, were still in possession of the British, and Washington's army was nearly frozen and starved to death in winter quarters at Valley Forge.

Steuben was everywhere received with due honors—no objection to a Prussian Junker then!—indeed, when he and his retinue came through Lancaster, the many Germans residing there accorded him a royal welcome. Gen. Washington, too, re-

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ceived him most cordially and with all the honors due an officer of high rank. The Congress readily granted him the rank of major general, and intrusted him with the task to drill the troops and establish better order in the commissary and other departments.

The winter quarters presented a most sorrowful appearance. The troops were in want of practically everything—clothing, provisions, arms and ammunition; and discipline and military order seemed unknown. When the enlistment of a soldier had expired he took musket and uniform home with him; if fatigued, he threw away whatever was burdensome to him. There were 5000 muskets more on paper than required, yet many soldiers were without them. Steuben's first task was, therefore, to inaugurate a system of control over the needs and supply of arms, and in course of time he succeeded in carrying this control to such perfection that, on his last inspection before he left the Army, there were but 3 muskets missing and even those could be accounted for.

In drilling the troops the Inspector General at first experienced great difficulties on account of his deficient knowledge of English, and the story goes that whenever he could not express himself with enough vigor he would turn to one of his officers begging him to cuss out the d—— blockhead for him. Carrying out all the exercises with characteristic Prussian perseverance, he would rise every morning at 3 o'clock and have all soldiers pass muster. Naturally, the good order thus brought about in the Army soon became painfully apparent to the enemy and contributed largely toward winning the war.

After he had been at Valley Forge, Morristown, West Point, and in a number of engagements as Inspector General and Chief of Staff, he was sent South, immediately following the unfortunate battle of Camden, on August 16, 1780, against which another German, Gen. von Kalb, had warned Gen. Gates in vain and in which von Kalb died a heroic death. Steuben was to raise troops in Virginia in support of Gen. Nathaniel Greene who had gone to the Carolinas, and that proved by far the saddest of his American experiences owing to the indifference of

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and lack of support from the people of Virginia. To Gov. Jefferson's repeated calls but few new recruits responded. On one occasion out of 500 men promised by the Governor only 7 appeared in Steuben's camp, and 2 of those deserted before the day was over. But not once, even in the face of these distressing circumstances, did our hero lose heart. Where hundreds of others in his place would have given up, he stood his ground and managed, from time to time, to send Gen. Greene the much needed succor.

When the American Army was finally organized in accordance with Steuben's plan, he asked for an independent command which, however, despite Washington's earnest recommendation, the Congress refused to give him, owing to jealousies and intrigues. Even in this instance, as in many others, his sense of duty triumphed over his disappointment. Well, fate had reserved a great satisfaction for him. It so happened that Gen. Cornwallis, the commander in Chief of the last formidable British Army, capitulated to that brave German soldier. In the fall of 1781 Cornwallis was besieged at Yorktown, Va., by the French auxiliary fleet on the one side and by the united American Army on the other. General Washington, who from first to last had implicit confidence in Gen. Steuben, had given him a temporary command, and while commanding in the trenches, the English general offered capitulation. When next day Lafayette appeared to relieve him, Steuben refused to give up the command. "It is a recognized rule of war," he said, "that the officer who receives the first offer of capitulation must remain at his post until the negotiations are concluded." Lafayette thereupon appealed to Gen. Washington, and what happened? The Father of the Country decided the controversy in favor of Steuben!

This, my friends, is but a meager account of Baron Steuben's signal achievements. A great deal more might be said. For instance, during the dark days of Valley Forge, while he starved with his soldiers and in the heat of the campaign he mustered the energy to prepare a military textbook for the use of the troops, a work of lasting merit which, by the way, until quite recently has remained the standard manual of the American

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Army under the title, "Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States." And mind you, he was not merely the drillmaster of the Revolutionary Army, as he is frequently called, but Gen. Washington's friend and adviser in all matters of military tactics and strategy, aye, it is claimed with good authority that the final victory of the American arms was in no little degree due to a plan of campaign elaborated by our hero and approved and followed by the Commander in Chief. Think of what that means!

In the face of this glorious record I say without fear of successful contradiction: If there is a man worthy of the lasting gratitude of the American people, it is General Steuben. Nevertheless, he was forgotten. O, yes, during his lifetime Congress voted him a pension and a gold-hilted sword, and the States of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Virginia made generous land grants in his favor, but posterity knew him no more.

Horace speaks of heroes who are consigned "to a long night of oblivion because they lacked a sacred bard." Or, as Byron expressed it: "They shone not on the poet's page and so have been forogtten." This fits exactly the case of Steuben who was forgotten because no bard or poet sung his praises. Now, let me ask: Did the American press ignore him; did the "Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution" fail to include him among the heroes whom they revere; did the so-called Americanized Encyclopedia Britannica exclude him from its pages; did the authors of American school books omit his name, all of that merely because he happened to be a German? Perish the thought! We are unwilling to believe it. That racial jealousy should go to the length of obliterating the memory of one of the fathers of the country passeth our understanding. Yet the fact remains. Owing to a systematic suppression and a studied slight, the illustrious name of Steuben was buried deep in the dust of a century and a half, unknown and completely forgotten until—well, thereby hangs a tale. With your kind permission I will tell it, though unfortunately I cannot do so without referring to some personal history. It is the story of a successful effort to

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bring back to the light of day and rescue from oblivion what others had sedulously buried, the difference being that the revival was dictated by American patriotism, while you will admit that the motives of the grave-diggers could hardly be dignified by any such name.

When in 1893 I first came to Washington as a Representative I looked around for some visible sign of official recognition of the German element and its history on American soil. There was nothing to be found. One day, standing in front of the White House and looking over to Lafayette Square I noticed that the two nearest corners of that beautiful little park were occupied by statues of Lafayette and Rochambeau. France being doubly honored, I asked myself, why should not future generations also be reminded of what men of German blood had contributed to the cause of American independence? The question was, however, who of the German Revolutionary heroes would best typify that idea. There was Muehlenberg who said: "There is a time to pray and a time to fight!" and, descending from the pulpit, buckled on the sword. There was General von Kalb, a most brilliant leader, who, as already mentioned, gave up his life at the unfortunate battle of Camden. There was General Herkimer (Herchheimer) the hero of Oriskany, who, having been shot from his horse in that fierce battle in the Mohawk Valley, continued giving commands on his knees until his life's blood had ebbed away. And there was Steuben. Burning midnight oil I read Frederick Kapp's "Life of Steuben" and came to the conclusion that he really was General Washington's right arm in the whole campaign from Valley Forge to Yorktown. I read of his bold declaration: "Only death can make me give up before America's independence is recognized!" But the determining factor in selecting Steuben for a monument to typify his own imperishable fame as well as the contributions of the German element to Colonial success was a letter which General Washington had written him only a few minutes before he laid down his command. You may be familiar with it, but my story would not be complete without it, so I will read it into the record.

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Annapolis, December 23, 1783.

My Dear Baron. Although I have taken frequent opportunities, both public and private, to acknowledge your great zeal, attention and abilities in performing the duties of your office, yet I wish to make use of this last moment of my public life to signify in the strongest terms my entire approbation of your conduct and to express my sense of the obligation the public is under to you for your faithful and meritorious services.

I beg that you will be convinced, my dear sir, that I should rejoice if it could ever be in my power to serve you more essentially than by expressions of regard and affection, but in the meantime I am persuaded you will not be displeased with this farewell token of my sincere friendship and esteem for you.

This is the last letter I shall write while I continue in the service of my country. The hour of my resignation is fixed at 12 today, after which I shall become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac, where I shall be glad to embrace you and testify the great esteem and consideration with which I am, my dear Baron,

Your most obedient and affectionate,

Geo. Washington.

Armed with this letter—and how the grim old soldier of two worlds must have rejoiced in receiving it!—I proceeded to prepare and introduce the bill for the Steuben monument. I soon discovered that not more than one out of a dozen Congressmen knew anything about this man "Stu-ben," but it was not long before they knew all about him and even learned to pronounce his name right. Don't think for a moment that there was no opposition, for there was. You couldn't see or hear it, but you could feel it. In the Senate committee they tried to kill the bill by procrastination, but I gave them no rest, and so the measure was finally reported out and, after its passage in both Houses, was signed by President Roosevelt on February 27, 1903. It was not until the 7th of December, 1910, however, that the statue was unveiled—a delay of 7 long years which is unaccount-

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able to me to this day. The competition among the sculptors had been won by Albert Jaegers, a German-American, now dead, who, as is admitted on all sides, had created a masterpiece of art.

If time permitted, I should like to dwell at length on the unveiling ceremonies, because they meant so much to us. It was the first and only time in American history that government, Congress and nation officially honored a German and publicly recognized his great achievements. Ten thousand citizens of German birth and ancestry, let me say briefly, had come to the national capitol to witness the rare spectacle of a great nation paying its debt of gratitude to one of their own flesh and blood. There was a military and civic parade which, the newspapers declared, surpassed everything of the kind which Washington, the city of great pageants, had ever witnessed. The unveiling ceremony, as a matter of course, was surrounded with all the dignity of a government affair and witnessed from the grand stand by a most brilliant assembly, including the President of the United States, the members of the Cabinet, the Justices of the Supreme Court, the diplomatic corps, members of Congress and officers of the Army and Navy. After a mass chorus by German singing societies Miss Helen Taft, the daughter of the President, pulled the strings, the cover fell and the statue of Steuben with its surrounding allegorical figures, warmed and lit up by the rays of a December sun, presented itself to the gaze of the thousands in all its glory. But few eyes remained dry. I was so overcome by my feelings that I begged President Taft to speak first, but he insisted on my going to the front to deliver my address, the first on the program.

Ever since that time the press has been "mum" on the subject of this monument as well as the unveiling ceremony. Should we, too, forget it? I say no, and that is the very reason I am telling this story. The Steuben monument is, like most statues, not only a tribute to the man, but it is also a reminder to this and future generations of the part played by men and women of German blood in the making of this country. By reviving the memory of the great Revolutionary hero, it has stimulated our own just pride of ancestry and has caused us to name the only political

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organization of German-Americans existing in the country after the man who set us an example of loyalty by embracing American citizenship and preferring to be buried in American soil. Aye, that memento of bronze is even more. It is a visible tie between Germany and the United States, the Fatherland and the land of our choice. As you probably know, its counterpart stands in the shadow of the old castle of Potsdam, placed there by an Act of Congress which your humble servant had the honor of introducing with a view to making that tie more binding and bringing home to the attention of the German nation, too, its meaning and significance. It is true that the world war obscured this and other ties. It made us forget what we owe to Germany, but it could not wipe it out. And I predict here and now, though I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet, that the two great cultural nations will yet march shoulder to shoulder, forgetting what separates them and remembering what unites them, provided we do not remain asleep at the switch and make our influence felt in the councils of the nation.

Now, before I go any further, let me take this opportunity to correct some common errors touching Steuben's personal history. On our side it has often been asserted that he came to America at the instance of Frederick the Great, in other words that this monarch had sent him over. French historians, on the other hand, claim that "Old Fritz" knew nothing at all about Steuben's intentions and furthermore that the influence of prominent Frenchmen was solely responsible for his enlistment in the cause of the colonies. The truth is that Benjamin Franklin influenced his decision more than anyone else, and as to Frederick the Great we must remember that Steuben was drawing a royal pension and, therefore, could not have left the country without the permission of his sovereign. So, while the Prussian King did not actually send him, he did what was almost equivalent, namely, he gave his consent for his trusted general to cast his lot with the Colonies. Hence, the King himself must have sympathized with their cause, a supposition, for which many other proofs might be cited. But how about the French? During the last 10 years especially they never tired of telling us

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that the aid of their government in our war for independence was actuated solely by love of America, while every historian knows that on the contrary it was hatred of England which prompted the action of the French rulers. Not so Steuben. His adventure, if we may so call it, was in reality nothing but a noble response to the appeals of a people fighting for their liberty. Quite a difference, wasn't it?

Such a motive, needless to tell you, is quite in harmony with German characteristics. Appeal to men of German blood in the name of liberty, and you never appeal in vain. Their history on American soil is one proof after another that they are truly imbued with "the spirit of '76." The first declaration of independence emanated from them, so did the first protests against human slavery. Their very hearts and souls were enlisted in the War for Independence, and in the Civil War what was it that caused them to rally to the banners of Abraham Lincoln in greater proportions than any other element? It was pure love of liberty. They did not quibble over the legal question whether under the Constitution the South had a right to secede. Their instinct of freedom simply told them that human slavery was incompatible with democratic institutions and a blot on the escutcheon of a free country.

And again, what is the impelling motive in their almost unanimous stand against prohibition? To say that it is a craving for the frothy brew is plain libel. O yes, that mild, healthy and refreshing drink was a modest luxury for all and an almost indispensable concomitant of our innocent amusements. Inasmuch as it promoted moderation and temperance, it was to the credit of the Germans to have introduced and popularized it in this country. But to say that their craving for it was any greater than that of the other elements of our population is untrue. No, we protest against prohibition because it outlaws what in conscience we cannot condemn and imposes restrictions inconsistent with personal liberty.

Lastly, was not love of liberty also the real determining factor of German emigration to the United States? We speak

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of those who left their old homes to better their condition, but it is but just to say that even those immigrants who hoped to profit materially in the New World and were longing for its fleshpots, were attracted as forcibly by the much-heralded freedom of America as by its prosperity. This craving for freedom is in the blood of the German race and will crop out wherever its descendants may settle. It is not by any means confined to the plain and lowly, but may fairly be termed a national trait. There is no question, my friends, that Baron Steuben, too, though a Prussian nobleman, was moved and inspired by that noble human emotion which the Germans call "Freiheitsliebe."

In conclusion, let us understand that in honoring Steuben's memory, we do not glorify militarism. We honor him because he has shed luster on the German name by the display of qualities and virtues which we admire. Among them none has thrilled our hearts more than his unswerving loyalty to America. We realize that a faithful emulation of his example of love of freedom and country, of valor and perseverance, will make us the best of Americans.

The question which we should propound to ourselves today is: What is the lesson of Steuben's life? What must we do now to be worthy of our great ancestor. My answer is: We must fight, not with the sword, but with the mind, not with bullets but with ballots. For instance: the Anglo-maniacs who would sell out America to England we must boldly oppose with a phalanx of patriots bent on preserving our American heritage. The liberties already lost we must endeavor to regain by waging relentless war upon the Anti-Saloon League and all the bigots who now misuse the church to gain power over the state, as well as against the diggers and cappers who are constantly at work to undermine our temple of freedom. To imperialists who would send our American boys to the shambles to safeguard the dollars invested in the countries South of us, we must reteach the lessons of the fathers. To those who are not really happy unless they can preach racial hatred, we must point out that all the different races who have found an asylum on Amer-

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ican soil, are here to stay, and that true Americanism requires us, by placing all races on a common pedestal, to live up to the idealism of a common brotherhood under the flag of a free government. And last, but not least, to our modern war lords who are constantly shouting for a bigger army and navy, we must sternly interpose the objection that the true mission of a democracy is peace which can much more surely be preserved by fair dealing and friendly relations with all the nations of the world, without playing favorites, of course, than by cannon and battleships and other implements of war.

If conditions in our country are not what they ought to be —and by what I have just said you can see that they are not— we must always remember that it is not the fault of our political institutions, but our own fault. A country with universal suffrage is just what its citizens make it. If there is a departure from the ideals of the founders of the Republic, it is because the people have failed in the performance of their public duties. America was greatest when it proclaimed to the world that "all men are created equal." As compared with that declaration all the wealth and power of the country today sinks into insignificance. Mindful of the illustrious example of our great ancestor whose memory we honor today, let us solemnly resolve to engage in a crusade for the purpose of helping to remold our country in accordance with the ideals Steuben fought for and which we have in our hearts and minds. Plainly, this cannot be brought about by us supinely sitting still, with hands in our pockets. No, for the sake of our common country and our children and children's children we must act, act politically, and the instrument to accomplish our sublime purpose is the Steuben Society which, I implicitly trust, you will not hesitate any longer in joining.

In thanking Dr. Teichmann, the present efficient head of that useful organization, and Captain Siebel for their kind invitation to me, I also beg you to accept my gratitude for your courteous attention.

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Steuben as a Military Statesman*

By Brigadier-General John McAuley Palmer,
Washington, D. C.

In the course of some recent researches in our military history, I had the good fortune to discover some unpublished manuscripts which throw a new light on Washington as a constructive statesman. As these documents also show Washington's close relations with Steuben and his reliance upon the Baron's scientific knowledge, the story of their discovery may be interesting. They reveal an aspect of Steuben's constructive genius and prophetic vision that is little known to his fellow countrymen.

At the beginning of my researches it was necessary to obtain Washington's views on military policy. With this end in view, I made a careful review of his published writings as edited by Jared Sparks. But there I found a remarkable discrepancy. I found Washington's writings full of denunciation and commendation of precisely the same institutions. In 1776, he wrote, "*to place any dependence upon militia is assuredly resting upon a broken staff.*" In 1783, he wrote: *The militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security and the first effectual resort in case of hostility.*

Each of these statements is characteristic of a period in Washington's life. Throughout the Revolution, in his official correspondence, he repeatedly denounced the militia as a worthless organization. After the Revolution and throughout his administration as President, he repeatedly commended the militia as essential to the future peace and welfare of his country.

* The material contained in this article is largely drawn from General Palmer's *Washington, Lincoln, Wilson: Three War Statesmen*, recently published by Doubleday, Doran & Co. This book is a history of the Military Evolution of the United States and throws a new light on several important phases of Baron Steuben's military services. In this article, the Baron appears as Washington's trusted adviser in his quest for a sound defence system for the New American Republic. *The Editor.*

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How are we to account for this astonishing paradox? How are we to explain that in 1783 and thereafter, he proposed to make a *palladium of security* out of the *broken staff* of 1776?

In pondering upon this militia paradox, it finally occurred to me, that Sparks might have omitted some pertinent document in making his selections for publication. Indeed I found in his preface, that he could only find room for a portion of Washington's writings in the twelve volumes which he proposed to publish. Under these conditions it seemed possible, that a non-military editor like Sparks, might have omitted some pertinent document.

I therefore decided to seek further light in the original Washington papers in the Library of Congress. I hoped that I might find something that would clear up the militia paradox to which I have referred. What I actually found was a complete dissertation on the military policy of the United States written by George Washington himself.

This remarkable document bears the title "Sentiments on a Peace Establishment." It was written at the headquarters of the Continental Army in April, 1783 just after the formal announcement of the cessation of hostilities with Great Britain. This document was omitted by Sparks when he made his selections from Washington's writings, in the interval between 1827 and 1837. Since then, it has been overlooked by all of our historians.

But this is not all that I discovered in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. In volume 219 of the Washington papers, I found the General's military correspondence for the month of April, 1783. These papers show why and how Washington wrote his "Sentiments of a Peace Establishment." The first of these documents is a letter from Alexander Hamilton, the chairman of a Committee of the Continental Congress. In his letter Hamilton requests the Commander-in-Chief to favor Congress with his "sentiments at large" upon a peace establishment for the new republic. This is a remarkable example of the intelligent foresight of the founders of our

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government. At the first moment of recognized political independence, they called upon their trusted military leader for a military system, suited to the needs of a modern republic.

Washington received Hamilton's letter on the 13th of April. But before preparing his own reply he sought the views of his principal military advisers. In this he followed the customary procedure of all well regulated military headquarters. His letter to his Inspector General, Baron von Steuben, is as follows:

Headquarters, April 14, 1783.

MY DEAR BARON:

A Committee of Congress is appointed to consider what arrangements it will be proper to adopt in the different departments with reference to a peace.

Col. Hamilton who is Chairman of this Committee has written me on this subject wishing to know my sentiments at large on such institutions of every kind for the interior defense of these States, as may be best adapted to their circumstances and conciliate security with economy and with the principles of our Governments.

I wish therefore to be favored with your thoughts on this Subject as soon as possible that I may compare them with my own and be able to comply with the request of the Committee in as full a manner and with as little delay as can be.

I am
My dear Baron
Your very Obt.
G. Washington.

Similar letters were sent to the other Generals at or near Headquarters. Their replies are to be found in volume 219 of the "Washington Papers." Those submitted by Baron Steuben, General Knox, General Pickering and General Rufus Putnam are highly constructive documents. It is a singular fact that these important papers also were omitted by Jared Sparks. In his *Writings of Washington,* Sparks had omitted the "Sentiments on a Peace Establishment." In his *Correspondence of the American Revolution* he also omitted the constructive memoirs on the same subject which Washington sought and obtained from his trusted Generals.

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The military policy proposed by Washington's advisers was very simple. They considered that the new nation should rest its defense upon what they called a "well-regulated" militia. They also proposed a small regular army, not as a part of the national defense structure, but to serve as a constabulary for the Indian Frontier. It is quite evident that none of them would have proposed a standing army, in any form, had there been no Indian problem in 1783.

I was not surprised to find these views expressed by Knox and Putnam and Pickering. They were native-born Americans. It was therefore natural that they should be infected by the characteristic Anglo-Saxon heresy of reliance upon militia. But I approached Baron Steuben's views with real curiosity. He had served for more than twenty years in the Prussian standing army. He was one of the most accomplished professional soldiers of his generation. How would he approach this problem of suitable military institutions for the new American republic?

Just one week after receiving Washington's letter, Baron Steuben submitted his proposals with the following letter of transmittal:

SIR:

I have the honor to present Your Excellency with my thoughts on a peace Establishment for our interior defence; how far my plan is adapted to the circumstances of the United States and whether it will agree with the principles of our governments I am not able to determine.

This I am Certain of, that we have need of a regular force for the protection of our frontiers, that our Militia ought to be on a regular footing, and that the Establishment of military schools & manufactories will be the best means of providing for our security in future and that a System of this nature will make us more respectable with the powers of Europe than if we keep up an Army of fifty thousand men. With the greatest respect.

I have the honor to be,
Sir, Your Excellencies
Most obedient servant
Steuben
Maj. General

April 21, 1783.

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The conclusion of the foregoing letter is most significant. There the Baron expresses his conviction, that with a well-organized militia and with proper arrangements for military education and supply, the new republic would be "more respectable with the power of Europe" than if it should maintain a standing army of "fifty thousand men." And that would have been a large standing army in 1783. Its equivalent in our present population would be a standing army of about two million men.

There is a remarkable unanimity in the views expressed by Washington's advisers. And this is the more remarkable that their replies were all prepared between April 14th and April 25th. That the work of this body of men should have been accomplished so speedily, is a convincing proof that they had already studied the question at issue and that it had long been a subject of discussion between them.

This remarkable agreement upon a highly controversial question, strongly suggests the special scientific influence of Baron Steuben. He had been studying the question at issue for years. As early as the summer of 1779, he had outlined his future plans in a letter to his friend Baron von Frank at Hechingen. In that letter he predicted the ultimate independence of America and suggested that it would then be his duty to assist in preparing a permanent military system for the new republic. For four years since then he had revolved this problem in his mind. Can we doubt that he frequently discussed it with his brother officers on Washington's Staff?[1] When they submitted their views to Washington in April, 1783, they differed in minor details. But they agreed unanimously in the fundamental policy which was concisely stated by Baron Steuben as follows:

> "A chain of small forts along the frontier as much for the protection of trade as to be a check for the

[1] In his *Washington, Lincoln, Wilson: Three War Statesmen,* General Palmer shows that while Baron Steuben was nominally Inspector General, he actually performed all of the duties of a modern General Staff—for which he had been specifically educated by Frederick The Great.

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Indians, a well-organized militia, and the establishment of military schools and manufactories is all that will be necessary for our Security."

After digesting the papers submitted to him by his Generals Washington prepared his own "Sentiments on a Peace Establishment" and transmitted it to the Continental Congress on the second day of May, 1783. In this document, he made an elaborate statement of the military policy, so generally endorsed by Baron Steuben and his other advisers. He pointed out that the existing colonial militia comprised all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and fifty. As this mighty host numbered four hundred thousand men, it would be impracticable to give it effective training. He therefore proposed that a sufficient portion of the younger men should be separated from their elders and formed into separate organizations where they could receive effective training. This organized active fraction of the militia would then be available as the Continental Army of the future. This is what Washington meant by a "well-regulated" militia.

It will be observed that in making this proposal Washington was advocating an American adaptation of the Swiss System. And he did this consciously and advisedly. In his "Sentiments on a Peace Establishment" he referred to the well-organized militia of Switzerland as the appropriate and effective military organization for a republic of free men. As we shall see presently, through Baron von Steuben, he was intimately acquainted with the details of the Swiss System as it existed at the close of the Eighteenth Century.

But while Washington recognized that the solution of the militia problem lay in organizing and training a relatively small fraction of the younger men, he realized that this could be done in several ways. Indeed in the papers before him, his generals had suggested several feasible solutions. Washington was always disposed to look at the essentials of a problem and was never inclined to tie himself dogmatically to any one of several feasible solutions. He therefore wrote as follows:

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"It is not for me to decide positively, whether it will be ultimately most interesting to the happiness and safety of the United States, to form this Class of Soldiers into a kind of Continental Militia, selecting every 10th, 15th, or 20th Man from the Rolls of each State for the purpose; Organizing, Officering and Commissioning those Corps upon the same principle as is now practiced in the Continental Army—(*Here Washington suggested a special adaptation of the Swiss System like our present National Guard*)—Whether it will be best to comprehend in this body, all Men fit for service between 18 and 25 or some similar description"—(*Here Washington suggested a direct adaptation of the Swiss System based upon universal training*)—or whether it will be preferable in every Regiment of the proposed Establishment to have one additional Company inlisted or drafted from the best Men for 3, 5, or 7 years and distinguished by the name of the additional or light Infantry Company always to be kept complete. These Companies might then be drawn together occasionally and formed into particular Battalions or Regiments under Field Officers appointed for that service."

Having indicated that there were several feasible solutions, Washington then summarized the whole problem as follows:

"One or other of these plans I think will be found indispensably necessary, if we are in earnest to have an efficient force ready for Action at a moment's warning. And I cannot conceal my private sentiment, that the formation of additional or light companies will be most consistent with the genius of our Countrymen and perhaps in their opinion most consonant to the Spirit of our Constitution."

In the foregoing paragraph, Washington is revealed as a practical statesman and politician. He would have been glad to have a Continental Militia like our present National Guard or he would have been glad to train all the younger men as is now done in Switzerland. But he foresaw that either of these proposed reforms would encounter the political opposition of the general body of the militia as it then existed. He therefore proposed that the young men to be trained in each locality

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should be incorporated in a special training company in each of the existing militia regiments. He would thus enlist the cooperation and support of the officers of the existing militia organization. This would be a sufficient first step in his proposed reform. The important thing was to segregate the younger men in special training organizations. With this accomplished as a first step, the grouping of the training companies into higher organizations could be left to the future.

The "Papers of the Continental Congress" show that Washington's "Sentiments on a Peace Establishment" was considered by Alexander Hamilton's Committee during the months of May and June 1783. But nothing could be done at that time. The confederation was literally bankrupt. In a letter written by Robert Morris on the 13th of June we learn that there was a treasury deficit and that the proceeds from taxation for the past two years had amounted to less than seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. There was no money to pay current expenses. No money to pay off the army, no money to pay the interest on the public debt. There was no revenue and no credit. It was manifestly impossible, in these circumstances, for the Continental Congress to undertake any constructive reform.

In his memoir submitted to Washington in April 1783, the Baron had not been able to complete his solution of the militia problem. This was because he was pressed by other important duties just at that time. With the rest of the Staff, he was busy with preparations for the final demobilization of the Continental Army. He was also engaged in preparing a plan of military education to be submitted to the Secretary of War. And, finally, he had just been designated by Washington to take over the frontier posts which, under the Treaty of Peace, were to be relinquished by the British. Under these circumstances he found it necessary to curtail his memoir on the national defense system. The story of his final solution is given as follows in my recent book, *Washington, Lincoln, Wilson, Three War Statesmen*:[2]

[2] Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1930.

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"During the following year, Baron Steuben devoted himself to an exhaustive study of the best defence organization for the United States. Nor was this an unfamiliar subject. The 'Steuben Manuscripts,' in the Library of the New York Historical Society, show that he had devoted years to the scientific study of the military institutions most suitable for a modern republic. Among these manuscrips is one in French, with an English translation, entitled *Résponse aux Questions sur la Milice des Suisses*. The French copy of this paper bears the following endorsement:

Committee of Correspondence,

Paris, July 6, 1778.

Gentlemen:

I send you the best account I have been able to procure of the establishment of the Militia in Switzerland, and have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect,

Yr. most obd't Servt.

Arthur Lee.[3]

"This paper gives a detailed account of the organization and training of the militia of the Swiss Canton of Berne.[4] The date of Lee's endorsement shows that this document did not leave Paris until more than nine months after Steuben sailed for America. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the paper was either written by Steuben or that this particular French version was annotated by him before he left Paris. Among the footnotes are two that could only have been written by a trained officer intimately acquainted with the Prussian system of combined maneuvers—then little known outside of Prussia. One of these footnotes indicates that its writer was considering the extent to which Prussian military methods could be adapted in a citizen army. That this writer could have been any other than Steuben is therefore highly improbable.

[3] Arthur Lee, at that time, was associated with Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane as one of the American Commissioners in Paris.

[4] A uniform federal militia had not yet been formed in Switzerland at that time. As we shall see, Steuben proposed it for the new American Republic before it was established in Switzerland.

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My guess is that Steuben annotated the original of this document while he was in communication with the American Commissioners in Paris in 1777; that he found it later in the American War Office probably when he was on duty there in the winter of 1779-1780 as Washington's representative in matters relating to the pending reorganization of the Continental Army; that then or later he borrowed it for use in connection with his further study of the national militia problem; and that after using it he neglected to return it.

"In the same volume of the 'Steuben Papers' is another unsigned and undated document entitled 'Thoughts on the Establishment of a National Militia.' Among the opening paragraphs of this paper is the following:

> "'As I have a mind to give some ideas on the formation and discipline of the militia of a free nation, I think the following regulations may help in the attainment of that perfection so necessary in such an establishment, for the good and security of the state.'

"This paper is based on the *Résponse aux Questions* and is a rather literal and crude adaptation of Bernese methods of organization. References to the Continental Army indicate that it was written after Steuben came to America, but long before he reached his final solution. The paper is principally interesting as a step in the gradual evolution of the Baron's ideas. According to this paper, the militia should be classified according to ages with compulsory training for the men in each class.

"Steuben completed his final solution of the militia problem early in 1784 and submitted it to Washington, who was then in retirement at Mount Vernon. In a letter to the Baron dated March 15, 1784, Washington says:

> "'I have perused, with attention, the plan which you have formed for establishing a Continental Legion, and for training a certain part of the arms-bearing men of the Union, as a militia in times of peace; and with the small alterations which have been suggested and made, I very much approve of it. It was no unpleasing and flattering circumstance to me to find such a coincident

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of ideas as appears to run through your plan and the one I had the honor to lay before a committee of Congress in May last. Mine, however, was a hasty production, the consequence of a sudden call and little time for arrangement; yours of mature thought and better digestion. At the same time that I limited the propriety of a Continental Militia, I glided almost insensibly into what I thought *would,* rather than what I conceived *ought* to be, a proper peace establishment for this country.

"'A peace establishment ought always to have two objects in view: the one, present security of posts and stores, and the public tranquillity; the other, to be prepared, if the latter is impracticable, to resist with efficacy the sudden attempts of a foreign or domestic enemy. If we have no occasion for troops for the first purpose, and were certain of not wanting any for the second, then all expenses, of every nature and kind whatsoever on this score, would be equally nugatory and unjustifiable; but while men have a disposition to wrangle, and disturb the peace of society, either from ambitious political or interested motives, common prudence and foresight require such an establishment as is likely to insure us the blessings of peace, although the undertaking should be attended with difficulty and expense; and I can think of no plan more likely to answer the purpose, than the one you have suggested, which, the principles being established, may be enlarged or diminished, at pleasure, according to circumstances. It therefore meets my approbation, and has my best wishes for its success.'

"It will be recalled that in his own plan referred to in the above letter, Washington had pointed out that our national security should rest upon a well-regulated militia. He had definitely referred to the military organization of Switzerland as the model for a modern republic. He had shown that the existing militia organization was defective because it attempted to embody every man from the age of eighteen to the age of fifty. By a 'well-regulated militia' he meant a relatively small fraction of the younger men actually organized, armed, and trained. He had suggested several feasible means of accomplishing this object, but did not commit himself positively to any of them.

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"In his final plan[5] Baron Steuben, as a trained general staff officer, tacked this specific problem and solved it in a most rational and scientific manner. He pointed out that the total enrolled strength of the militia, in the year 1784, was more than 400,000. Any effective plan to arm and train such a number would involve prohibitive expense and would be an intolerable social and industrial burden. On the other hand, no possible emergency could demand so large a force. It was therefore absurd to maintain such an establishment. He then estimated the numbers that might be required and concluded that a peace force of 21,000 men, expansible to 42,000 on mobilization, would be sufficient for the defense of the United States at that time. As he needed only 21,000 men out of a total militia strength of 400,000, his "active fraction" would be a small one —much smaller than the active fraction required in Switzerland. If he had to embody every third man as the Swiss then did, it would be necessary to resort to compulsion. But as he needed only every twentieth man, he proposed that the ranks be filled by enlisting volunteers for three years. He proposed to pay these young men a small bounty, to arm and clothe them at public expense, and to call them into training camps for thirty-one days each year. From the standpoint of economy, he showed that adequate training for this small fraction would cost much less money and in industrial burden than the totally inadequate training then demanded of the whole militia.

"It will be observed that Steuben's Continental Militia was, in effect, a modification of the Swiss system as adapted to a country where compulsory service was unnecessary because sufficient numbers could be obtained by voluntary enlistment.

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[5] This plan was published by Baron Steuben later in the year under the title "A Letter on the Subject of an Established Militia, etc., addressed to the Inhabitants of the United States." The title page of the pamphlet bears the date, 1784. The month and day of publication are not given, but as the text refers to an Act of Congress passed June 3, 1784, it must have been printed after that date and therefore includes the revisions referred to by Washington in his letter of March 15th. There is a copy of this pamphlet in the Library of Congress and another in the Library of the New York Historical Society, and another in the Library of Harvard College.

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It will also be observed that it is identical functionally and structurally with our present National Guard as it has been reorganized since the World War. The only essential difference is in the mode of training. Our present National Guard relies largely upon 'armory training' distributed throughout the year. Steuben proposed thirty-one days in training camps each summer.

"One of the advanced ideas that Steuben had gotten from Frederick the Great was the importance of combined training in order to assure the intelligent team-work of infantry, cavalry, and field artillery. The full importance of this was but little understood outside of Prussia at that time. Steuben sought to secure this advantage for his American National Guard. In order to accomplish this in a sparsely settled country of great area, it was necessary to divide his total force into small training teams. If he should make his training team a 'division' of 7,000 men, he would have only three teams in all, and each of them would occupy approximately a third of the whole national area. With so large an area and with the communications then available it would be impossible to assemble such divisions for team training. Steuben therefore invented a smaller team with a strength of 3,000 men which he called a legion. This gave him seven training camps, each billeted in a much smaller area. Each of his legions was to comprise two troops of cavalry, a battalion of artillery of two batteries, and an organized field train. Indeed by this arrangement, each brigade supported by a troop and a battery preserved his team proportions and gave him fourteen territorial teams for training purposes.[6]

"A territorial military organization based upon the distribution of population in such a manner as to facilitate nation-wide military training, localized military units, and decentralized mobilization has many obvious advantages. Here Steuben appears

[6] In a later form of the legion adopted by Washington in 1792, it was subdivided into four sub-legions, each with a regiment of infantry, a battery, and a troop of cavalry. With this modification, Steuben would have been able to divide the national territory into twenty-eight training areas for combined tactical training.

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to be a real pioneer, for this system was not perfected even in Europe until long after his day. It was not adopted in our own peace establishment until after the World War, one hundred and thirty-six years after the Baron first proposed it.

"For the purposes of inspection, supervision, and decentralized administration, Steuben also proposed to divide the country into three territorial departments as follows:

> The Northern department comprising New England. (To this area he allotted two of his militia legions.)
>
> The Middle department comprising New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. (To this area he allotted three of his militia legions.)
>
> The Southern department comprising Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. (To this area he alloted two of his militia legions.)

"As each of these departments was also to include a munitions service and a system of popular military education, they must be recognized at once as the forerunners of our present Corps Areas. Here again Steuben anticipated our present organization by one hundred and thirty-six years.

"It should also be understood that if Steuben's plan had been adopted, the military schools proposed by him must have trained and developed an effective general staff from the beginning of our national history. It might not have been called a 'General Staff,' but it must have performed the general staff function. Steuben was a general staff officer, trained in general staff methods and imbued with sound general staff doctrine. It was the purpose of a military academy, as he and Washington conceived it, to transmit, diffuse, and perpetuate those methods and that doctrine in the American citizen army. If Steuben had been permitted to supervise the establishment of these schools, we may be sure that he would also have transmitted the method of instruction which he had received from Frederick the Great. Thus, the 'applicatory method' both as a means of training and as a 'tactical measuring rod' must have

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been adopted in our service more than a century before it finally crept into the curriculum at Fort Leavenworth.

"Steuben also proposed a small regular army to garrison the posts on the Indian frontier. Washington's plan of 1783 contained the same proposal. But neither Steuben nor Washington advocated a standing army for purposes of national defense. They proposed a strictly limited number of professional soldiers to perform certain continuing duties that cannot be performed by citizen soldiers. In addition to this small specialized regular army, the plan also contemplated a limited number of highly trained professionals to provide for military instruction and administration in time of peace. Steuben's own history proves that professional guidance is essential to the efficiency of a citizen army—but in terms of quality rather than quantity.

"Steuben's plan of 1784, together with his proposals on military education submitted the year before, constitute a complete national defense system. As he had perfected the organization and discipline of the citizen army which won our independence, so now he sought to perpetuate that institution for the future. If our fathers had adopted the plan which he outlined, we should have been prepared for every subsequent military emergency from the War of 1812 to the Civil War and the World War. And strange to say Steuben's plan was prophetic of the present military organization which we have finally attained after more than a century of costly, painful, and spasmodic evolution. Everything that is meritorious in our new military organization since the World War was contained in a simpler and more economical form in Steuben's original plan. But our existing military organization is burdened and disfigured by many expensive, cumbersome, and unnecessary excrescences which have no place in Baron Steuben's original plan.

"Steuben's Continental Militia was a military organization of the Swiss type. But it was not the result of blind imitation. As a scientific military expert, the Baron was studying the

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military needs of a 'free nation.' As an experienced Prussian veteran he was familiar with every detail of the standing army system as it then existed in Europe. This he recognized as an essentially monarchical institution that could have no congenial place in the new American republic. In his quest for a more appropriate form, it was natural that he should turn to Switzerland for a modern embodiment of that ancient Teutonic war host of freemen which had long ceased to exist in every other part of Europe. He arrived at a solution similar to that of Switzerland not by imitation, but because the Swiss military system is the characteristic military organization for a democracy. No candid and competent mind seeking effective military organization in terms of modern democracy can arrive at any other solution. The British Territorial Force is a case in point. When Lord Haldane advocated its establishment he was actually, though no doubt unconsciously, advocating a voluntary service adaptation of the Swiss Military System identical in type with Steuben's Continental Militia and with the American National Guard. But he advocated it because it was adopted to the military needs of modern British democracy and not because other democracies had found similar solutions for the same problem. It is significant, however, that Baron Steuben and Lord Haldane, both profound students of German military efficiency, should arrive at the same means of translating that efficiency into terms of Anglo-Saxon democracy."

Since the establishment of the League of Nations there has been a continued effort to solve the problem of land armaments. It is recognized that there is a profound relation between the problem of armament and the problem of peaceful world organization. But so far, the efforts of the League have led to a deadlock. This is largely because the armament formula contained in Article VIII of the League Covenant is incomplete. It overstresses the factor of *quantity* and ignores the factor of *type*. Many thoughtful men are beginning to recognize that large citizen armies of the Swiss type would be highly conservative of

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peace, while a return to the small standing armies of Marlborough's day would not be unfavorable to military adventure.

In this connection it is interesting to find that this problem of peace-conservative armament was solved years ago by the founders of the American Republic. They proposed a peace-conservative Army of the People as one of the essential institutions of a Government by the People. In their solution of this problem we see the profound influence of Steuben's scientific knowledge tempered by Washington's strong common sense and practical statesmanship.

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Baron von Steuben, Father of the American Army

Address delivered at the Unveiling Ceremonies of the Steuben Monument

By Dr. Charles J. Hexamer

*President of The National German-American Alliance.**

The second half of the eighteenth century was especially significant and important in the political and cultural development of mankind. Its momentous events, occurring in rapid succession, its great men, its bloody wars, its heroes from Frederick the Great on a throne down to the lowest ranks of the common people, and its scientists, scholars, and thinkers of all nationalities formed in vast array the advent of a new era. The portending signs and events found their culmination in the French Revolution, that gigantic broom that swept the cobwebs from the brains of man and removed by one fell stroke the accumulated rubbish of many centuries. The Zeitgeist breathed the equality of man—equal rights and liberty for all. The seeds of coming nations were then sown and a new order of things was evolved.

The events leading to the Revolution of the American Colonies, and finally culminating in the founding of our Republic, were some of the many influences which gave rise to the social upheaval in Europe. On the other hand, the excesses of the

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* The impressiveness of the Unveiling Ceremonies was greatly enhanced by the presence of thousands of German-Americans who had assembled in Washington to witness the official recognition of the great achievements of one of their distinguished countrymen. While a mass-chorus of German Singers lent special dignity to the exercises, Dr. Charles J. Hexamer, as the spokesman of the National German-American Alliance, voiced the high esteem and veneration in which Steuben had been held by his compatriots for more than a century.

It was but a few years later that, during the height of the war psychosis, a committee of the Senate, induced by foreign propaganda and false accusations of doubtful individuals, recommended the revocation of the charter of the National German-American Alliance, an act which indirectly encouraged the persecutions of its president and finally resulted in his fatal breakdown.

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Reign of Terror in France exerted a beneficent influence in moderating opinions in our young Republic; people learned that liberty did not mean license and that our Constitution stands for a masterful expression of the will of a free people under salutary self-control.

Among the many valuable services of Benjamin Franklin and the "Father of his Country" must be mentioned that they recommended BARON VON STEUBEN to Congress. The genius of Washington, with his knowledge of men and things, intuitively grasped the true spirit of military discipline; not only would it become a great help to the Army and its officers, and enable him to win battles, but he also felt that its influence would reach far into the future, when, after laying aside their arms, soldiers would again go about their peaceful pursuits, and the golden lessons of fidelity and discipline, where every part works for the benefit of the whole, would finally spread throughout the broadest strata of the Nation. This was achieved, and was due in a great measure to "Washington's right arm," BARON VON STEUBEN.

How deep the sympathies of the best of the German peoples were at the time for the American colonists in their struggle for freedom can be gleaned from Schiller's newspaper articles, and his drama "Kabale und Liebe" scourges the utter rottenness of the system whereby German princelings sold their soldiers as mercenaries to England.

Franklin, when he met STEUBEN in France, immediately recognized that he had before him an officer who not only followed the struggle of the American Colonies with keen interest, but who also prayed for their success. The best proof of STEUBEN'S sentiments is contained in the letter which he addressed, from Portsmouth, to the Congress of the United States, in which he states that the only motive bringing him to this hemisphere is his desire to serve a people making such a noble fight for their rights and freedom. He does not crave titles or money. His only ambition in entering our ranks as a volunteer is to acquire the confidence of the commanding general of our armies and to accompany him through all his campaigns, as he did the King of Prussia during the Seven Years' War. He

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would like to attain with his life's blood the honor that at some future day his name may be enrolled among the defenders of our liberty.

Though it is to be presumed that STEUBEN's biography is well known, I feel it my duty to limn by a few sketches the career of this extraordinary man.

Among European officers of our War of Independence FREDERICK WILLIAM VON STEUBEN is undoubtedly the foremost in military knowledge. He rendered services to our Nation which for actual value leave those of others far behind, although some may be better known to our people through the glamour of romance and deeds of a more spectacular display.

He was born on September 17, 1730, at Magdeburg, the son of the Prussian Capt. von Steuben, a descendant of an old and noble family, which for generations had produced famous soldiers. He entered the Prussian Army at the early age of 14, was wounded at the Battle of Prag, serving in the Volunteer Battalion of von Mayr, and fought throughout the Seven Years' War. At Kunersdorf he was again wounded and taken prisoner. He became adjutant to Gen. von Hülsen. Fighting at one time against the French, at another against the Russians and Austrians, he so distinguished himself that in 1762 he became captain of the staff and personal adjutant of the King. Later he commanded a cavalry regiment. He resigned his commission in 1763.

After several years of service as court marshall to the Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, while a general in the army of the Markgrave of Baden, he again met, on a visit to Paris, in December, 1777, his friend St. Germain, French minister of war. The latter advised him to go to America. Benjamin Franklin, at that time our ambassador to France, did likewise, and rejoiced when he found that it did not require much persuasion. STEUBEN was considered an authority on military matters. As a member of the staff of Frederick the Great he had actively and carefully studied the commissary departments. He had seen how to provision and keep armies in an efficient state of health, and knew

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how to handle large military bodies. In short, he was "a past master of all the sciences of war, had acquired his knowledge at the most famous high school of those times, and, what was more, he had proved himself worthy and distinguished."

He no doubt felt that among the American patriots he would find excellent raw material, "Free men fighting for liberty, willing and capable of enduring every hardship that would lead them to victory." The masses of recruits needed vigorous measures to make them valuable. And in STEUBEN lived the enthusiasm of the creator, the master, whose heart and soul were in his work. We can in truth call him the "Father of the American Army." Like a father he rejoiced in the progress of his men. He started his work with a number of picked men, and in a fortnight his company knew how to bear arms and had a military air, knew how to march, and to form in columns, to deploy and execute maneuvers with excellent precision.

Well could the Secretary of War at the time write that all congratulated themselves on the arrival of such a man, experienced in military matters. His services were the more valuable because the want of discipline and internal order in our Army was generally felt and greatly regretted. The general state of affairs on the arrival of STEUBEN can best be gleaned from STEUBEN'S notes, which are preserved in the archives of the Historical Society of New York.

The Army was divided into divisions, brigades, and regiments, commanded by major generals, brigadier generals, and colonels. Congress had stipulated the number of soldiers for a regiment and a company, but the constant flood and tide of men having enlisted for six or nine months made the condition of a regiment or a company problematical. The words "company," "regiment," "brigade," or "division" meant nothing, as they certainly offered no standard for figuring the strength of a corps or of the Army. The number of men in them was so changeable that it was impossible to arrange a maneuver. Often a regiment was stronger than a brigade. STEUBEN saw a regiment of 30 men and a company which consisted of a corporal. Records were badly kept, reliable reports were impossible, and con-

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clusive evidence could not be gained of where the men were and whether the money due them had been actually paid. Officers employed two and some even four soldiers as body servants.

Military discipline did not exist. Regiments were made up at random. Some had 3, others 5, 8, and 9 subdivisions. The Canadian regiment even had 21.

Every colonel used the system he personally preferred. One used the English, another the French, and a third the Prussian regulations. Only on the march unanimity of system reigned. "They all used the single-file march of the Indians."

Furloughs and discharges were granted without the knowledge of higher officers. When the troops were in camp, the officers did not stay with them, but lived apart, sometimes several miles away, and in winter usually went to their homes. Often but four officers remained with a regiment. The officers thought that their duties consisted in attending guard mount and to head their troops in battle.

Soldiers did not know how to use their weapons, had no confidence in them, and used their bayonets as spits to broil their food when they had any. Uniforms could easily be described, because the troops were almost naked. The few officers who had military coats at all had them of any kind, color, and cut. Steuben states that at a "dress parade" he saw officers in sleeping-gowns, which had been made from old woolen blankets and bedspreads.

Such a thing as the proper administration of a regiment none knew. The consequence was that chaotic disorder reigned everywhere, and the results obtained were ludicrously inadquate in proportion to the sums expended.

Just as little as the officers knew of the numbers of men at their command as little did they know about the weapons, ammunition, and equipment of their troops. No one kept records or accounts except the Army contractors who supplied the different articles.

A terrible scarcity of money reigned all over the country. The British had put large quantities of counterfeit paper money

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in circulation, which brought with it an enormous devaluation; $400 to $600 were asked for a pair of shoes, and it took a "month's pay of a common soldier to buy a square meal."

We must recall these facts in order to estimate at its full value STEUBEN's great sacrifice in remaining at his post. One not of the moral caliber of STEUBEN would have precipitately fled from the service, for neither pecuniary nor social advantage were to be gained by serving the Colonies.

The horrors of the camp at Valley Forge, where he was first sent, are known to every school child. STEUBEN showed himself worthy of the trust imposed in him. Washington had appointed him Inspector General, and soon STEUBEN showed the stuff he was made of, bringing order out of the chaos, introducing an excellent system of accounts and strict military discipline. He could not speak English well, but in spite of this handicap he succeeded in the difficult task, for a foreigner, of making himself beloved and popular with all classes. He introduced systematic regulations, held daily reviews, personally inspected everything, and made himself familiar with every detail. Droll incidents, of course, took place; the men made mistakes in maneuvering, the Baron made bad breaks in English, his volleys of French and German were in vain, and though he swore in three languages, that did not help matters; but suddenly STEUBEN's good common sense and generous heart would assert themselves and he would call his adjutant to help him scold these dunces (Dummköpfe), in reality to explain in plain English what he wanted the men to do. It was his big and generous heart which soon made him a universal favorite, for he not only enforced strict discipline, but he also scrupulously looked after the welfare of every soldier. He investigated everything, the reports of physicians, the condition of the sick, the treatment the men received from their officers, the quarters and provisions given to his men, and, finally, he was always with them. Up at break of day, always active, never tiring, he accompanied his men on their marches and participated in their hardships and in camp he arranged their amusements. His tact and sound judgment were apparent everywhere, the military tactics of the school

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of Frederick the Great were adapted to the conditions of the American troops and their surroundings. He was not a blind follower of military customs and superannuated formulas, as one might have easily been led to expect. His instructions were fitted to local conditions and, therefore, were appreciated; the officers strove zealously to emulate his example. Soon raw recruits were transformed into active and able parts of Washington's war machine.

Thus STEUBEN in spirit as well as in fact became "the drill-master of the Continental Army," an unselfish and faithful helper, esteemed by Washington, who well knew that STEUBEN was worthy the order of merit and faithfulness his former master had bestowed upon him.

STEUBEN was not a stickler for forms, not a mere "drill sergeant," but a broad-minded man, head and shoulders above most of those of his time who had taken up the "art of war" as a profession.

He possessed the genius of a great military organizer, creating armies out of nothing, "stamping them out of the ground." Thus in Virginia, in the winter of 1780 and 1781, after the unfortunate Battle of Camden, S. C., STEUBEN was sent with Gen. Greene "to create an army." In spite of great difficulties, such as demoralization, ignorance of military discipline, and the pervading tendency to "plunder," he succeeded so well that Arnold's marauding invasion was halted and Lafayette could score successes. With a strong hand, by hard personal application, he broke the prejudice of officers who thought it beneath them personally to teach common soldiers. This born aristocrat showed his fellow officers how democratic he was at heart, working to achieve results, and knowing no social barriers to accomplish them. His example was contagious, and jealous opponents were silenced by the excellent results of STEUBEN's methods.

Gen. Scammel wrote to Sullivan that "Baron STEUBEN sets all a truly noble example. He is a past master in everything, from the big maneuver down to the smallest detail of the service. Officers and soldiers alike admire in him a distinguished man who held a prominent place under the great Prussian monarch,

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and who now, notwithstanding this fact, condescends, with a grace wholly his own, to drill a small body of 10 or 12 men as a drillmaster." Under his leadership extraordinary progress had been made toward order and discipline within the whole Army. The great change which became everywhere apparent caused Washington to report to Congress that he would not be doing his duty if he should longer keep silent in regard to the high merits of BARON VON STEUBEN. His ability and knowledge, the never-tiring zeal with which he labored since he entered his office, constituted an important gain for the Army.

The results of STEUBEN'S "drilling" were forcibly shown at the Battle of Monmouth, when Lee's lines, through incompetence or treachery, were breaking in confusion and defeat seemed certain, and STEUBEN, by Washington's command, brought the impending flight to a standstill and led the reunited lines against the fire of the enemy—a splendid example of discipline and mutual confidence between leader and troops. Alexander Hamilton, an eyewitness, declared that he then for the first time became aware of the overwhelming importance of military training and discipline. Discipline and drill had saved the day for the cause of liberty and had proved to the American Army that it was able to cope on an equal footing with the drilled armies of the enemy.

That STEUBEN was a master of military science, using his own ideas, is clearly shown by the rules and regulations he issued under extraordinary difficulties during the winter campaign of 1778 and 1779. He was the inventor of the formation of light infantry, a lesson to be learned even by his former master, Frederick the Great, who studied the American War closely and adopted the system in his own army, then the model of the world, blindly followed by all the armies of Europe.

STEUBEN'S regulations were used for generations after his death, until new inventions and conditions made changes necessary.

In Washington's council of war STEUBEN'S word was of great influence and often heeded. In the archives of the His-

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torical Society of New York his carefully drawn plans of campaign are still to be found.

At the siege of Yorktown he was the only American general who had previously participated at sieges, at Prag and Schweidnitz, and so it happened that he was in command, his troops occupying the most advanced trenches, when Cornwallis raised the white flag of surrender. Washington in the Army order of the next day specially mentions that to brave STEUBEN belonged a great part of the credit of victory.

After peace had been declared and the Army was disbanded, Washington commended, in his own handwriting, the extraordinary services which Gen. STEUBEN had rendered the American cause.

Washington was the moving spirit, the soul of the great fight for freedom, but to STEUBEN must be awarded the credit of having been the power which supplied that master spirit with the means. Clear-sighted historians do not hesitate to designate STEUBEN as the most valuable man Europe gave America in our fight for freedom.

As has been said:

His system of reviews, reports, and inspections gave efficiency to the soldiers, confidence to the commander, and saved the Treasury not less than $600,000.

Congress considered STEUBEN's services too valuable to discharge him after peace was declared, and it was STEUBEN who worked out the plans for the establishment of our small standing Army and the foundation of our Military Academy. In spite of strong opposition his recommendations received the support of Washington, and Congress adopted them. The Military Academy he suggested is to-day none other than the Nation's famous Military Academy at West Point. STEUBEN's plans included professorships of history, geography, international law, oratory, the fine arts, etc. He held that an officer should have a liberal education and the best moral and physical training obtainable.

When in 1784 the place of Secretary of War became vacant, STEUBEN applied for it, believing that he could serve his country

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well. Political cliques and intrigues shelved his aspirations; the threadbare excuse, for the want of a better one, that he was a "foreigner" to whom such an important post should not be intrusted, was put forward; such was the gratitude of our Republic after a great war, in which STEUBEN has so forcibly proved his fidelity and force of character.

He keenly took this disappointment to heart, and in March, 1784, tendered his resignation. Congress accepted it on April 15, with the resolution that the thanks of the United States be expressed to him for the great zeal and the efficiency he had displayed in every position intrusted to him, and presented him with a gold-handled sword as a sign of the high appreciation of his character and merits. The States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia made him grants of land.

In trying to procure reimbursement for the large sums he had advanced during the war he, however, experienced endless trouble and annoyances. Other men had come to the front and supported the claims of generals they favored. Finally, at a session when some opponents even argued in favor of repudiating the contracts made in good faith, Representative Page arose and told how STEUBEN had offered us his sword under generous terms and had rendered us such essential services that one should blush for Congress if the views of certain Members were adopted, that it was unworthy of Congress to split hairs about the meaning of the terms of contracts, and that he did not weigh them according to the amount of money involved, for he considered the services of the distinguished veteran more valuable than the highest sum which could possibly be awarded him.

Returning to private life, STEUBEN became a public-spirited citizen of the highest type. He probably gave the first impulse to the founding of the Order of the Cincinnati, and was one of the original members of this patriotic society. He was elected a regent of the University of New York, and at all times kept in touch with all questions, civil and military. The German Society of New York reveres in him one of its founders, and he was its president until his death. The society had been founded

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in 1784, to aid German immigrants on similar lines to the German Society of Pennsylvania, founded 20 years before.

STEUBEN could enjoy but a short time the annual pension of $2,500 finally granted him in 1790 and the land grant of the State of New York. He had retired to his farm in the summer of 1794; as usual, he went to spend the hot season under the oak trees that shaded his simple hut, occupying his time with agricultural pursuits and scientific studies, when he was suddenly stricken. The brave warrior and noble citizen was never fully to recover. He died shortly after his sixty-fourth birthday, on November 28, 1794.

On Oneida's heights, deep within an old forest reservation, we find a massive monument of gray stones to which the mosses and lichens fondly cling. Here rest the mortal remains of STEUBEN, the father of the American Army.

We honor ourselves in honoring the memory of our great dead.

The great oaks about his grave will fall in the course of time, time will also crumble this statue into dust, but as long as the American Nation exists the memory of STEUBEN will endure.

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Nachrichten von den Lebensumständen des Baron von Steuben, Generalmajors in Diensten der vereinten Staaten von Nordamerika.[1]

Von Christoph David Ebeling.

Die großen Verdienste des Generalmajors von Steuben wurden nicht nur schon bei seinen Lebzeiten dankbar von den Nordamerikanern anerkannt, sondern auch nach seinem Tode läßt man ihnen öffentlich Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren und beehrt zugleich den Karakter des Verstorbenen mit den unverdächtigsten Lobsprüchen. Daß seine Lebensumstände aber in dem Lande, zu dessen Freiheit er so thätig mitwirkte, nicht vollständig bekannt sind, wird niemand befremden, der die widersprechenden Nachrichten kennt, welche man darüber in Deutschland verbreitet hat. Dagegen weiß man bei uns auch nur wenig von der ehrenvollen Aufnahme, welche Steuben in Nordamerika wiederfuhr, von dem ausnehmenden Verdienste, das er sich um das Kriegswesen der vereinten Staaten gerade zu einer Zeit erwarb, wo es die wichtigsten Folgen für die Freiheit derselben hatte.

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[1] Bei dieser Lebensbeschreibung liegen folgende Aufsätze zum Grunde: 1) Zuverlässige Nachrichten von dem Geschlecht und Herkommen des nordamerikanischen Generals F. W. L. G. A. von Steuben; von dem Vater desselben eigenhändig aufgesetzt, und im historischen Portefeuille 1785. St. 4. S. 447–453 abgedruckt. 2) Authentische Familien-Nachrichten von dem N. A. Generalmajor Fr. Wilh. von Steuben. Aus mündlichen und schriftlichen Nachrichten, welche von der Schwester des Generalmajors, der verwitweten Hauptmannin von Canitz herrühren, und in Hansens Staats-Materialien, Dessau 1784. St. 6. S. 635–640 eingerückt sind. 3) Zuverlässige Nachrichten von dem amerikanischen General von Steuben, im Journal von und für Deutschland 1785. August. S. 84–88. Aus mündlichen Nachrichten von Personen, die Steuben am hohenzollerischen Hofe genauer kannten. 4) Nachricht von dem N. A. General von Steuben, in Schlözers Staatsanzeigen B. 5. S. 39. 40. Nachrichten zweier Männer in Hamburg und Schlesien, die ihn gekannt haben wollen. 5) Schreiben des Generalmajors von Steuben aus dem Lager zu New-Windsor vom 4. Julius 1779 an den geheimen Rath . . . in Hechingen. Steht in Schlözers Briefwechsel B. 7. S. 327–337. 6) Verschiedene in den amerikanischen Zeitungen vom J. 1794 bei Gelegenheit seines Todes eingerückte Nachrichten.

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Baron Steuben[2] war der älteste Sohn eines sehr verdienten preussischen Ingenieur-Offiziers, Wilhelm Augustins von Steuben, der als Obristwachtmeister und Vice-Kommandant von Cüstrin im J. 1783 in hohem Alter verstarb. Seine Mutter, aus dem adlichen Geschlechte der von Jagow, gebahr ihn zu Magdeburg im J. 1730. Als der König von Preussen seinen Vater bald darauf nach Rußland sandte, nahmen seine Eltern ihn als Kind mit dahin, und dort erhielt er seine erste Bildung. Sein Vater, der nicht mit Gütern gesegnet war, bestimmte ihn früh zu den Kriegsdiensten, wodurch er selbst sein kleines Glück gemacht hatte, und suchte ihn schon in der ersten Jugend dazu vorzubereiten. Als er im J. 1739 aus Rußland zurückkehrte, ließ er ihn, nachdem der neue König von Preussen Schlesien erobert hatte, von den Jesuiten zu Neisse und Breslau, vorzüglich in den mathematischen Wissenschaften, unterrichten, und führte ihn selbst in dem zweiten schlesischen Kriege in den Stand ein, dem er ihn gewidmet hatte. Unter seiner Aufsicht machte er als Freiwilliger den Feldzug im J. 1744 mit, und wohnte der Belagerung von Prag bei. Nachher erweiterte er seine Kenntnisse noch mehr unter seinem Oheim dem preussischen Obersten von Lüdwick.[3] Im J. 1747 ward er zuerst als Fahnenjunker bei dem Lestwitzischen, nachmals Tauenzienschen Infanterie-Regimente in Breslau angestellt, zwei Jahre darauf wurde er zum Fähnrich, im J. 1753 zum Unterlieutenant, im J. 1755 aber zum Premierlieutenant befördert. Im siebenjährigen Kriege diente er in allen Feldzügen mit vielem Beifall seiner Obern, auch des Prinzen Heinrichs und selbst seines Königs. Er wurde zweimal in der Schlacht bei Prag im J. 1757 und nachher auch in der Schlacht bei Kunnersdorf, jedoch niemals schwer, verwundet. Im J. 1758 suchte er die Erlaubniß unter dem Bataljon des bekannten Parteigängers Mayr als Freiwilliger, jedoch ohne Verlust seiner Regimentsstelle zu die-

[2] So nannte man ihn stets in Amerika; in Deutschland zählte man seine Familie nicht zu den eigentlichen Baronen, ob sie gleich zu dem alten Adel gehörte. In ältern Zeiten schrieben seine Vorfahren sich schlechthin Steube. Diese zogen im 13. Jahrhunderte aus Franken ins Mansfeldische, wo sie vier Rittergüter besaßen. S. Spangenbergs Adelshistorie. Der Generalmajor von Steuben erhielt in der Taufe die Namen: Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin.

[3] Dieser Name findet sich nicht in der Liste seiner Vorfahren, welche sein Vater aufgesetzt hat. Soll es vielleicht Lestwitz heißen?

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nen, und erhielt sie. Mayr lernte seine Thätigkeit und Diensteifer bald schätzen, und machte ihn zu seinem Generaladjutanten. Nach dessen Tode ward er im J. 1759 dem General Hülsen als Brigadeoffizier zugegeben, machte den Zug nach Polen mit, und wohnte der Schlacht bei Kunnersdorf bei. Im J. 1761 nahm ihn der König von dem Regimente weg, und machte ihn zum Quartiermeister-Lieutenant. Als solcher gerieth er in eben dem Jahre bei Treptow in russische Gefangenschaft, und ward nach Petersburg geführt. Nicht lange nach der Zeit, da Peter der III. in Rußland zur Regierung kam, erhielt auch Steuben die Freiheit und gelangte bei diesem Fürsten, der alles was preussisch war, bewunderte und bis zur Thorheit liebte, zu großem Ansehn.[4] Peters kurze Regierung machte dem aber bald ein Ende. Nach dessen Entthronung kehrte er jedoch, da Katharina II. den Frieden mit Preussen bestätigte, zum Heere des Königs zurück, und ward zum Kapitän in seinem Gefolge erhoben, am Ende des Jahrs auch zum Kommandanten von Torgau ernannt.

Nach erfolgtem allgemeinen Frieden verließ Steuben die preussischen Dienste. Die Veranlassung dazu gaben einige Streitigkeiten, worein er mit dem Grafen von Anhalt gerieth, der mit ihm zugleich Flügeladjutant war. Vermuthlich hing das damit zusammen, daß ihm eine Kompagnie bei dem salmuthischen Regimente, das zu Wesel in Besatzung lag, angeboten wurde, wodurch er seinen Ehrgeitz beleidigt glaubte, indem er sie für keine, seinen langen treuen Diensten angemessene Belohnung hielt. Er verweilte eine Zeit lang zu Halle und Dessau, gab sich darauf für krank aus, und reisete ins Wildbad in Schwaben. Von da aus suchte er den Abschied beim Könige, den er aber nicht gleich erhielt. Wahrscheinlich war dies die Reise, welche er im J. 1764 in Gesellschaft des Prinzen Friedrichs von Wirtemberg, der damals noch in preussischen Diensten war, nach Schwaben that. Bei dieser Gelegenheit lernte er den

[4] Die Nachrichten in Schlözers Staatsanzeigen S. 60 sagen, er habe dort eine komisch-hohe Rolle gespielt, die ihm aber gefährlich zu werden drohte. Es fehlt an öffentlichen Nachrichten wie bedeutend und wie komisch diese Rolle gewesen sei. Aus dem folgenden sollte man doch kaum schließen dürfen, daß Friedrich II. es für eine verächtliche Rolle gehalten habe. Sein Vater sagt, Peter habe St. mit vieler Gnade und ganz besonderer Auszeichnung aufgenommen.

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Fürsten von Hohenzollern-Hechingen kennen, der ihn auf Empfehlung der Prinzessin von Wirtemberg und auf ein sehr verbindliches Schreiben des Prinzen Heinrichs von Preussen, in seine Dienste als Hofmarschall nahm.[5] In diesem Amte that er nicht nur nur seinem Fürsten, der doch von etwas heftigem Karakter war, stets ein Genüge, sondern erwarb sich auch viele Hochachtung und Liebe, sowohl an dem Hofe seines Fürsten, als an den benachbarten. Der Karakter, welchen er daselbst behauptete, war ihm sehr rühmlich. Er war, so schilderte ihn ein Augenzeuge, dienstfertig, Menschenfreund, und suchte seinem Herrn jeden Verdruß zu ersparen, indem er, was dessen Zorn hätte erregen können, in der Stille beilegte, zwar strenge auf Ordnung und Erfüllung der Dienstpflichten hielt, aber auch wieder durch liebreiche Herablassung seine Untergebenen zu gewinnen wußte. Er selbst verwaltete sein Amt mit allem Anstande, aller Ordnung und pünktlichen Geschäftigkeit, die es erforderte. Man rühmt auch, daß er nur ein einzigesmal sich in eine Hofkabale, nämlich gegen den verdienstvollen, aber freimüthigen Kanzler von Stader eingelassen habe, der dadurch sein Amt verlohr, und auf Gnadengehalt gesetzt wurde.

Im J. 1771 begleitete er seinen Herrn auf einer Reise nach Frankreich, welche ihm zu Bekanntschaften mit Ministern und Generalen verhalf, die in der Folge von großer Wichtigkeit für ihn

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[5] Vermuthlich haben die amerikanischen Zeitungen aus dieser Würde, die eines Unterstatthalters eines Kreises des deutschen Reiches gemacht, welche sie Steuben beilegen; dergleichen aber die deutsche Staatsverfassung gar nicht kennt. Die Nachricht beim Schlözer sagt, einer seiner Bedienten, den er in Berlin reiten lernen ließ, und der nun hohenzollerischer Stallmeister geworden war, habe ihm zu der Hofmarschallstelle verholfen. Daß die ganze Anekdote falsch sei, wie mehr nachtheilige Umstände in besagter Nachricht, die gewiß nicht von Steubens Freunden herrührt, erhellet aus dem Journal für Deutschland und der Aufklärung, die seine Schwester über diese Sache gegeben hat. Der Stallmeister hatte sich freilich durch seine Geschicklichkeit im Reiten vom gemeinen Kantonisten des lestewitzischen Regiments so weit empor gehoben, war aber nie Steubens Bedienter, ja nicht einmal wirklicher Soldat bei dem Regimente, wobei derselbe stand. Denn von dem Dienste machte ihn der königliche Oberstallmeister Graf Schafgottsch frei, und ernannte ihn einige Zeit nachher zu seinem Bereuter. Als hohenzollerischer Stallmeister ward er vom Kaiser geadelt. Dieser Baron von Höffel soll in der Folge Schuld gewesen sein, daß von Steuben den Dienst des Fürsten verlassen mußte. So erzählt es die schlözerische Nachricht. Die im Journal für Deutschland, welche über Steubens Aufenthalt in Schwaben doch so umständlich ist, erwähnt dieses Mannes gar nicht.

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wurden. Auch der Umgang mit verschiedenen vornehmen Engländern, welche sich damals in Paris aufhielten, ward ihm vortheilhaft, denn er lernte jetzt schon ihre Sprache einigermaßen, ohne zu ahnen, daß deren Kenntniß ihm bald so unentbehrlich seyn würde. Nach der französischen Reise, welche einige Jahre dauerte, schien Steuben alle bisherigen Plane seines lebhaften Ehrgeizes aufgegeben zu haben, und sich mit der Achtung seines Fürsten und der Liebe des Hofes und seiner Freunde zu begnügen, als auf einmal ein boshaftes Gerücht wider ihn sich verbreitete, welches ihn nöthigte, die neuen Entwürfe zu einem ruhigen stillen Leben zu verlassen, und seine erste Laufbahn wieder zu betreten. Wer eigentlich der Verbreiter jenes abscheulichen Gerüchts war, das Steuben eines Verbrechens beschuldigte, wovon der Verdacht an einem andern höhern Hofe zu der Zeit, so wie ehmals bei den Griechen, schwerlich solches Aufsehn gemacht hätte, ist nicht öffentlich bekannt geworden;* jedoch wird erzählt, daß es der Geistlichkeit gelungen sei, Steuben bei seinem Fürsten verhaßt zu machen, so daß er genöthigt war, sich an den markgräflichen badenschen Hof nach Karlsruhe zu begeben. Es war dem Weltlaufe gemäß, daß der in Ungnade gefallene Mann von seinen Freunden verlassen wurde. Doch blieb ihm einer übrig, nämlich der würdige Kanzler von Frank, der das Geschrei der Verläumder nicht achtete, sich seines Freundes nachdrücklich selbst bei dem Fürsten annahm, und seine Ehre rettete. Daß dies dem treuen Freunde völlig gelungen, erhellet schon daraus, daß Steuben noch von Amerika aus mit dem Fürsten und den ersten Männern an seinem Hofe Briefe wechselte, die von dem besten Vernehmen mit denselben zeugen. Doch ehe das wieder hergestellt war, blieb Steuben lange Zeit in einer sehr unangenehmen Lage. Ein Engländer von der Oppositionspartie, den er in Karlsruhe kennen lernte, zeigte ihm einen Weg, sich aus derselben zu helfen, indem er ihm eröfnete, daß es den gegen England aufgestandenen Amerikanern, so sehr Frankreich sie unter der Hand mit Offizieren, Ingenieuren und Kriegsbedürfnissen versorgte, doch

* Vielleicht irrt man nicht, wenn man die Worte in der schlözerischen Nachricht „durch eben den Kanal, der ihn zur Hofmarschallswürde verhalf, kam er auch vom Hofe wieder weg" auf das obige Gerücht zieht, dessen jedoch gedachte Nachricht mit keinem Worte erwähnet. Die ganze Erzählung beruhet auf dem Berichte im Journal für Deutschland S. 185 ff.

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gänzlich an einem geübten Lehrer der Taktik fehle. Da Steuben sich hauptsächlich in seinem zwei und zwanzigjährigen preussischen Dienste dieser Wissenschaft gewidmet, und sie in dieser höchsten Schule der Kriegskunst praktisch aufs vollkommenste studirt hatte, so zeigte sich ihm jezt eine erwünschte glänzende Aussicht, und sein Ehrgeiz erwachte mit aller Stärke wieder. Er sagte dem Engländer, daß er einen preussischen Offizier kenne, der sich in dieser Wissenschaft ausgebreitete Kenntnisse und Uebung erworben habe, und unter gewissen Bedingungen erbötig wäre, in des amerikanischen Kongresses Dienste zu treten. Der Engländer schrieb dies an Beaumarchais, wie auch an die Abgeordneten des Kongresses, Dr. Franklin und Silas Deane, nach Paris, und erhielt zur Antwort, daß man kein Bedenken tragen würde, mit einem Manne dieser Art, wenn er mit bewährten Zeugnissen nach Paris käme, sich in Unterhandlungen einzulassen. Steuben reiste demzufolge im Mai 1777 nach Paris, versehen mit Empfehlungsschreiben an die französischen Minister, worunter auch die von dem Fürsten von Hohenzollern selbst waren. Seine Unterhandlungen zerschlugen sich aber, weil man nicht alle Bedingungen, die Steuben machte, eingehen wollte. Dieser suchte daher in französische Kriegsdienste zu treten; aber auch hier, wo so viele tausend einheimische Offiziere dienstlos auf Beförderung warteten, waren seine Bemühungen vergebens. Er machte einen Versuch bei dem spanischen Abgesandten; allein da war ihm die Religion, zu welcher er sich bekannte, im Wege. Trostlos kehrte Steuben jetzt von Paris nach Karlsruhe zurück, wo ihm die Briefe seiner Freunde eine baldige Versorgung hoffen liessen. Allein auch da war ihm das Glück, oder vielmehr die Geistlichkeit, welche Einfluß genug hatte, seine Hoffnungen zu vereiteln, ganz zuwider.

Zu so vielen fehlgeschlagenen Hoffnungen kamen nun auch drückende Schulden hinzu, seinen Kummer zu vermehren. Er sahe sich also genöthigt, zu seinem ersten Projekte, den Unterhandlungen mit den Bevollmächtigten des Kongresses, von neuem seine Zuflucht zu nehmen, und reiste daher im September 1777 abermahls nach Paris. Jetzt war er so glücklich, seinen Zweck zu erreichen, und mit Franklin unter sehr vortheilhaften Bedingungen zu schließen.

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Denen zufolge erhielt er, wie in dem Berichte des Journals für Deutschland versichert wird, das Patent als Generalmajor, welches die höchste unter den militärischen Würden in den vereinten Staaten ist, nebst einem jährlichen Gehalte von 24000 Livres (4360 Dollar) und 8000 Livres Reisekosten. Ausser den im Dienste gewöhnlichen Mundbedürfnissen, wurden ihm auch 2 Negersclaven und 4 Pferde zum Geschenke bewilligt, und die Ernennung verschiedner Offiziere, die unter ihm dienen sollten, zugestanden.[7] So viel ist gewiß, daß er noch in diesem Monathe die Reise nach Amerika antrat, wohin ihn eine Fregatte l'Heureuse, von 26 Kanonen, welche mit sehr vielen Kriegsbedürfnissen beladen war, überbrachte. Er langte am 1. Dezember zu Portsmouth in New-Hampshire, nach vielen ausgestandnen Gefährlichkeiten, glücklich auf der Fahrt an, und begab sich, nach einem kurzen Aufenthalte in Boston, am 10. Januar 1778 nach Yorktown in Pennsylvanien, dem damaligen Aufenthalte des Kongresses. Er fand allenthalben, wie er selbst dankbar, aber auch nicht ohne eitle Uebertreibung rühmt, eine seinen Verdiensten und den Empfehlungen, die er mitbrachte, gemäße Aufnahme. Washingtons Briefe beweisen aber, wie sehr willkommen er den Amerikanern war. Er begab sich, dem Verlangen des Kongresses zufolge, nicht lange nach seiner Ankunft zum Hauptquartiere des Oberfeldherrn in dem Winterlager bey Valley Forge. Washington nahm ihn sehr gefällig auf, und erkannte bald, wie wichtig er dem Kriegswesen der vereinten Staaten werden könne. Schon am 28. April schrieb er dem Kongresse: „Ich kann über die Verdienste des Baron von Steuben nicht länger schweigen; denn ich

[7] Mit diesen und andern nicht ganz wahrscheinlichen Umständen wird die Sache im Journal für Deutschland erzählt. Steubens Brief S. 329. scheint dem allen jedoch stark zu widersprechen; denn so wenig derselbe von Ruhmredigkeit frei ist, so erzählt er doch, daß der Kongreß den Tag nach seiner Ankunft eine Committe' von drei Gliedern an ihn gesandt habe, um zu wissen, unter welchen Bedingungen er in Dienste treten wollte? worauf er geantwortet habe, er wäre gar nicht Willens, Bedingungen vorzuschlagen, sondern gedächte den Feldzug als Volontair zu machen. Einiges von dem hier erzählten und von dem, was darauf folgt, ist gar nicht der Verfahrungsart des Kongresses gemäß, und aus Washingtons Briefen erhellet deutlich, daß der Kongreß den Baron ihm erst zusandte, um zu erfahren, ob er ihn für brauchbar hielte.

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betrachte ihn als einen wahren Gewinn für den Dienst, daher ich ihn auch der Aufmerksamkeit des Kongresses bestens empfehle."[8]

Einige Tage vorher hatte der General Conway, der aus französischen Diensten in amerikanische übergeterten war, seine Stelle als General-Inspektor niedergelegt, und schon am 5. Mai ward Steuben an dessen Statt mit Generalmajors Rang angestellt, so daß dieser von dem ersten Tage anfangen sollte, da er zur Armee gekommen war. Die ganze General-Inspektion ward jetzt erst nach einem neuen Plane, welchen Washington dem Kongreß vorlegte, eingerichtet.[9] Steuben gab sich nun außerordentlich viele Mühe, die Kriegsübungen des Heeres zu verbessern, und ihr bei allen Regimentern die nöthige Gleichförmigkeit zu geben. Die vollkommene Einigkeit, welche hierüber zwischen dem Oberfeldherrn und ihm herrschte, war nicht wenig dazu behülflich, daß sein Unternehmen, allen großen Schwierigkeiten ungeachtet, so gut von Statten ging. Es war gewiß nichts Geringes, daß ein Fremder, der noch der Landessprache nicht mächtig genug war, um sich leicht und deutlich darin auszudrücken, ein kaum erst errichtetes, zu keiner Unterwürfigkeit gewöhntes Heer, das noch dazu eben damahls für Freiheit focht, und bei dem viele Vorurtheile gegen Ausländer herrschten, zu den Regeln einer scharfen Kriegszucht gewöhnte, und die sehr vernachläßigte Ordnung in der Oekonomie der Regimenter einführte, wodurch dem Staate große Summen erspart wurden. Dieß war ein Unternehmen, dem nur ein sehr einsichtsvoller, muthiger und zugleich rechtschaffner Mann gewachsen seyn konnte, der die unerbittliche Strenge des Dienstes, mit aller der Klugheit, Leutseligkeit und Herablassung verband, welche ihm die Herzen seiner Untergebenen gewannen. Dadurch gelang es ihm jedoch bald, das amerikanische Heer zu einer Stufe der Einsicht, Pünktlichkeit und Ordnung zu erheben, auf welcher es, wo nicht über die britischen Veteranen, die es zu bekämpfen hatte, hervorragte, doch ihnen gleich stand. Wie sehr Steuben in diesem Amte den Beifall seiner

[8] Ich muß diese Stelle aus W. Briefen nur aus dem Gedächtnisse anführen, da ich das Buch auswärts verliehen habe. Eben deswegen kann ich auch einige andere, wo seiner gedacht wird, nicht vergleichen.

[9] Gordons History of the U. St. V. 3. p. 67. seq. Ihm zufolge soll ein gewisser Baron d'Arndt zuerst die Idee dazu gegeben haben. Journal of Congress 1780. Sept. 25.

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Vorgesetzten erwarb, beweisen nicht nur die neue Einrichtung der General-Inspektion im J. 1781, wodurch sein Wirkungskreis sowohl als seine Gewalt sehr erweitert, und er bloß vom Kongresse, vom Kriegssekretär und vom Oberbefehlshaber abhänging gemacht ward, sondern auch der bald darauf mit 80 Dollar monathlich für Reisekosten vermehrte Gehalt desselben.[10] Seine nach Deutschland in diesen Zeiten geschriebenen Briefe zeugen von dem redlichen Eifer, womit er sich der guten Sache widmete, welcher er diente, und wie glücklich er sich in seiner damahligen Lage schätzte. Im Winter 1778 verfertigte er die Ordonanz für die Reiterei und das Fußvolk, welche sogleich gedruckt ward, und noch jetzt bei dem Heere der vereinten Staaten gültig ist.[11]

Seinen kriegerischen Muth und Einsichten bewährte Steuben bei mehr als einer Gelegenheit während der Revoluzion. Er ward in dem Gefechte bei Monmouth am 28. Junius 1778 von Washington abgesandt, um die in großer Unordnung sich zurückziehende Division des Generals Lee wieder herzustellen, welches er auch glücklich ausrichtete, und nachher dem Oberfeldherrn, auf dessen Befehl, eine Verstärkung zuführte.[12] Im Jahre 1781 befand Steuben sich in Virginien an der Spitze einer kleinen Schaar von sogenannten virginischen Achtzehnmonath-Männern und Militz, um den Einbrüchen der Engländer unter Arnold und Philipps zu widerstehen. Hier hatte er gewöhnlich den thätigen Partheigänger Oberstlieutenant Simcoe gegen sich, dem der englische Oberfeldherr Cornwallis die Vernichtung des steubenschen Korps vorzüglich empfohlen hatte. Simcoe hatte auch einigemahl das Glück, seinen Gegner zu überlisten, und einen beträchtlichen Waffenvorrath, den

[10] Journal of Congress 1781. Jan. 10. Jul. 26.

[11] *Baron de Steubens* Regulations for the Order and military Discipline of the Troops of the U. St. Philadelphia. 12.

[12] In dem gedruckten Briefe sagt er: „Ich kommandirte den linken Flügel des ersten Treffens, und war so glücklich, die Entscheidung dieses Tages zu unserm Vortheil zu bringen." S. 332. Obige Angaben sind aus seiner Aussage im Kriegsgerichte über General Lee genommen, der ihm in seiner Vertheidigung zwar spöttisch antwortete, aber nicht widerspricht. S. Proceedings of the General Court Martial for the Trial of Major Gen. Lee. Philad. 1778. fol. p. 30 sq. p. 57. 60. Die öffentlichen Berichte über dieß Gefecht gedenken Steubens nicht; allein er diente hier auch bloß als Freiwilliger.

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er bewachte, zu zerstören.[13] Im Junius stieß Baron Steuben zu dem Heere des General Lafayette, und war mit ihm bei der Gefangennehmung des britischen Heeres zu Yorktown in Virginien. Hier hatte er am 19. Oktober, dem Tage der Uebergabe, den Befehl in den Laufgräben.[14]

Die Beschwerlichkeiten des Krieges hatten auf Steubens Gesundheit schon keinen vortheilhaften Einfluß gehabt, als nach geschlossenem Frieden noch Sorgen der Nahrung hinzukamen. Wahrscheinlich hatte er während des Krieges nichts erspart, und erwartete jetzt Belohnung seiner Dienste von dem Staate, zu dessen Rettung er aufs treueste mitgewirkt hatte. Allein die Finanzen der vereinten Staaten erlaubten ihnen nicht, alles zu thun, was ihre Dankbarkeit von ihnen forderte. Wie große, obgleich übertriebne, Hoffnungen er sich indessen gemacht hatte, ersieht man aus dem gedruckten Briefe.[15] Es währte lange, ehe nur ein Theil davon erfüllt ward. Der Staat Pennsylvanien hatte ihm durch einen öffentlichen Beschluß vom 21. März 1783 so viel Ländereien versprochen, als ihm gebührt hätten, wenn er Generalmajor der Truppen dieses Staates gewesen wäre;[16] allein dieß waren Ländereien in menschenleeren, den Einfällen der Indier ausgesetzten Wüsten. Die Generalversammlung von New-Jersey schenkte ihm durch eine besondere sehr rühmliche Akte vom 23. Dezember 1783 ein ansehnliches Landguth in der Ortschaft New-Barbados auf Lebzeit, jedoch so, daß er es selbst bewohnen sollte; eine Bedingung, die dem „tiefen Gefühl nicht gemäß war, welches sie von den vielen ungemeinen Diensten hegten, die er den vereinten Staaten geleistet hatte, und die ihre Dankbarkeit der Welt so gern kund machen wollte."[17] Noch verlegner scheint der Kongreß anfangs gewesen zu seyn, alle ihm gethanene Versprechungen zu erfüllen. Endlich aber half ihm die dankbare Freigebigkeit des Staats New-York, der ihm durch eine Akte vom 5. Mai 1786, „für seine den vereinten Staaten während

[13] S. Tarleton's History of the Campaigns of 1780 und 1781. Lond. 1787. 4. p. 344. 349. Stedman's Hist. V. 2. c. 44. p. 388 sq.

[14] S. The Herald NYork. 1794. V. 1. Nr. 60.

[15] Schlözers Briefw. B. 7. S. 336.

[16] Dieß betrug, wo ich nicht irre, 2000 Acres. Vergl. Penns. Acts 1785. Ch. 185. §. 5. 13.

[17] Acts V. 2. C. 403. p. 381.

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des Krieges geleisteten wesentlichen Dienste," eine Viertel-Ortschaft oder 16000 Acres schenkte. Diese wurden ihm in einer sehr fruchtbaren angenehmen Gegend der nachmahligen Grafschaft Herkemer angewiesen, wo er sich in der Folge anbaute, und den übrigen Theil seines Lebens in ländlicher Muße zubrachte. Im J. 1792 wurde die ganze Ortschaft nach seinem Namen benennt.[18] Auch der Kongreß konnte ihm nun Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren lassen, und belohnte im J. 1790 seine „Aufopferungen und hervorstechenden Dienste, wofür die vereinten Staaten ihm bisher noch nicht hinlänglich Ersatz gegeben hatten," mit einem jährlichen Gehalte von 2500 Dollars.[19] Sollte man es von dem ehrlichen deutschen Karakter erwartet haben, daß man von Steubens Vaterlande aus dieser Belohnung entgegen arbeiten würde? Und doch hat sich ein Deutscher dieser unedelmüthigen Handlung schuldig gemacht.[20]

Vielleicht wurde dieser Verrath gerade zu der Zeit ausgebrütet, als Edward Livingston in der deutschen Gesellschaft zu New-York seine warme Lobrede auf deutsches Talent und deutsche Redlichkeit hielt, in welcher er von Steuben, der Vorsteher dieser Gesellschaft war, nachdem er einige große Deutsche, auch unsern Gellert, Geßner und Klopstock gepriesen hatte, öffentlich sagte: „Es wäre vergebnes Bemühn, hier **einen** Namen verschweigen wollen? Wenn von deutscher Tugend die Rede ist, wer kann da Steubens Namen übergehen? oder wenn man von Verdiensten spricht, wird da die Bewunderung von den seinigen schweigen?"[21]

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[18] S. Erdbeschr. von Am. B. 2. S. 1066. Acts of New-York 9. Sess. C. 77. §. 33.
Amerk. Magaz., B. I. St. 3.

[19] S. Laws of the U. States I Congr. 2 S. Ch. 16.

[20] Den Beweis geben Schlözers Staatsanzeigen B. 16. S. 126. Es wurde die im schlözerischen Briefwechsel befindliche Nachricht, Steuben betreffend, in der Maryland Gazette vom 10. Mai 1790. übersetzt, und der Uebersender dieser Zeitung begleitete sie mit der Anmerkung: „daß Obscuri wohlgemeinte Uebersetzung zu spät gekommen sei; denn Steuben habe die Pension weggehabt, weil er in Europa einen Gehalt von 600 Luisdor aufgeopfert. Einen Spott über die Pension findet man auch in den Staatsanzeigen B. 4. S. 143.

[21] New-York Mag. 1790. p. 234. Steuben war schon seit mehreren Jahren Präsident der deutschen Gesellschaft in New-York, welches seit dessen Tode David Grimm ist. Im J. 1780 wählte ihn auch die philosophische Gesellschaft zu Philadelphia zu ihrem Mitgliede.

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Weit mehr als alle diese Lobreden beweisen seinen Werth die Schilderungen, welche man nach seinem Tode öffentlich von seinem liebenswürdigen Karakter gemacht hat. Er starb auf seinem Landguthe den 28. November 1794 am Schlage im 64. Jahre seines Alters.

Steuben genoß die Liebe und Verehrung, nicht nur Washingtons und der Offiziere und Soldaten, mit denen er diente, sondern auch aller, die ihn kennen lernten; daher folgte ihm auch allgemeines Bedauern nach, wie aus den vielen Aufsätzen erhellet, worin die amerikanischen Zeitungen einmüthig seinen Verlust beklagten. Ein Mann, der ihn fünfzehn Jahre lang genau gekannt hatte, sagt von ihm: Zu den militärischen Vorzügen fügte er alle Tugenden eines Bürgers und alle Vollkommenheiten eines Wohlerzogenen hinzu. Er hatte ausgebreitete Kenntnisse, einen hellen Verstand und ein gesundes Urtheil. Die Natur hatte sein Herz offen für alle ihre Kinder geschaffen, und nie verschloß er es ihnen. Nie fand ich ihn einer unwürdigen Handlung schuldig, und nie sah ich ihn eine gute unterlassen![22]

[22] Herald am angef. Orte. Dieses Urtheil bestätigt den Brief eines würdigen Geistlichen zu New-York, der ihn genau kannte, und die Nachricht von seinem Tode mit den Worten beschloß: Er war ein Mann von sehr liebenswürdigem Karakter. Ohne Zweifel dürfen wir von dem würdigen Biographen verdienter Amerikaner, dem Hrn. Prediger Belknap in Boston, eine vollständigere und genauere Lebensbeschreibung des General erwarten. Es soll mich freuen, wenn ich höre, daß meinem gütigen Freunde dieser kleiner Beitrag zu seinem vortrefflichen Werke nicht unwillkommen ist.

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Copie eines Schreibens von dem General Major von Steuben, an den Geheimenrat von Frank in Hechingen: im Lager zu Neuwindsor am Nord Fluß, den 4. Jul. 1779.

Hier haben Sie mein 5tes Schreiben, mein Freund, welches ich aus diesem Weltteil an Sie abgehen lasse. Da ich bis daher auf keines eine Antwort erhalten: so bin ich besorgt, daß Ihnen meine Briefe nicht zugekommen seien. Zwei Schiffe, mit welchen ich Pakete nach Europa abgehen ließ, sind von den Engländern aufgehoben worden: von den zwei andern, welche Briefe für Sie und einen andern Freund hatten, bin ich ungewiß; Ihr Stillschweigen, mein teuerster Freund, macht mich besorgen, daß auch diese sind verloren gegangen. Da ich gegenwärtiges durch den französischbevollmächtigen Minister, Mr. Gerard, abgehen lasse, und ich mir schmeichle, daß es Ihnen zu Handen kommen wird: so will ich, so viel möglich, dasjenige wiederholen, was ich bereits in meinen vorigen umständlich gesagt habe.

Meinen ersten Brief an Sie, mein teuerster Freund, schrieb ich von Boston, ungefer 5 Wochen nach meiner Ankunft in diesem Weltteile. Er enthielt meine ReiseBeschreibung und alle widrige Begebenheiten, so mir auf dieser Reise zugestoßen. Die Beschreibung eines Sturms werden Sie besser im Robinson Crusoe oder andren Abenteurern finden, als ich sie Ihnen geben kann. Ich will Ihnen nur so viel sagen, daß ich zwei dergleichen, und jeden von der gröbsten Art, ausgestanden: den ersten in dem Mittelländischen Meere, nahe an den Afrikanischen Küsten; und den andern an denen von Neu Schottland. Jeder währte 3 Tage; und durch jeden, besonders durch den ersten, war meine Fregatte dermaßen beschädigt, daß unsre See-Officiers selbst alle Hoffnung aufgaben.—Fügen Sie zu diesen kleinen Unannemlichkeiten hinzu, daß der Vorderteil des Schiffs 3-mal in Brand geriet, und daß wir 1700 Centner Pulver an Bord hatten; und ferner, daß eine Empörung unter dem SchiffsVolk uns in die Verlegenheit setzte, mit 14 Mann gegen 84 uns in ein Gefechte einzulassen, um uns der Rädelsfürer zu be-

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mächtigen; daß wir in der gefärlichsten Jars-Zeit 66 Tage mit der Reise zubrachten: und dann werden Sie finden, daß diese Ueberfart einer der härtesten war, so man sich denken kan.

So widerwärtig aber meine Reise war: so schmeichelhaft war meine Ankunft in Amerika. Wir langten den 1. Decemb. 1777 in Portsmouth, der Hauptstadt in New Hampshire, an. Bevor wir in den Hafen einliefen; sandte ich meinen Sekretär in einer Schaluppe an den Commandanten, um meine Ankunft wissen zu lassen. General Langdon, welcher das Commando hat, kam selbst an Bord des Schiffes, und holte mich und meine Officers in seiner Schaluppe ab. Bei meiner Ankunft in dem Hafen wurden die Kanonen von der Festung, und von allen Schiffen, so im Hafen lagen, abgefeuert. Etliche Tausend Einwohner bewillkommten mich bei meinem Aussteigen ans Land auf die freundschaftlichste Art. Mr. Langdon fürte mich in sein Haus, wo wir zu Mittag speisten: wärender Zeit alle Einwohner der Stadt zuliefen, wie um ein Rhinoceros zu sehen.

So sehr ich auch von meiner beschwerlichen Reise abgemergelt war: so wandte ich doch den andern Tag an, um alle Festungswerke zu besehen. Den dritten Tag sah ich die Truppen der Garnison; und den 4ten Dec. setzte ich meine Reise nach Boston zu Lande fort.

Mein Empfang zu Boston war eben so schmeichelhaft für mich, als der in Portsmouth. Ich fand daselbst den berühmten Mr. Hancock, vormaligen Präsidenten vom Congresse. Dieser zeigte mir eine vom Congresse erhaltene Ordre, daß für mich und meine Suite die erforderliche Bequemlichkeiten zur Reise (nach Yorktown, woselbst damals der Congreß versammlet war) veranstaltet werden sollten. Mr. Hancock unterzog sich selbst der Besorgung. Es wurden mir Wagen, Schlitten, und HandPferde angeschafft: 5 Mohren wurden mir zu Reit- und Wagen-Knechten gegeben, und ein Commissarius, um auf dem Weg Quartir und Fourage zu besorgen. Da ich von Paris nicht mehr als Einen Kammerdiener und Einen Koch mitgenommen: so engagirte ich in Boston noch 2 Engländer als Bediente, und formirte meine Feld-Equipage für mich und meine Officiers. Von hier aus schrieb ich Ihnen meinen ersten Brief, in welchem ich einen an Se. Durchl. den Fürsten, und ein Paquet an den Capitaine von H——, bei-

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legte: und so viel ich mich erinnere, war auch ein Brief an Fr—— dabei.

Die Einrichtung meiner Equipage hielt mich über 5 Wochen in Boston auf, und den 10. Jan. setzte ich meine Reise nach Yorktown fort. Hier wurde ich vom Congreß mit aller erdenklichen Distinction empfangen. Ein Haus war für mich eingerichtet, und 2 Schildwachten vor meiner HausTüre. Den Tag nach meiner Ankunft sendete der Congreß eine Committe von drei Gliedern, um zu wissen, unter welchen Bedingungen ich die hiesigen Dienste annemen wollte. Meine Antwort war, daß ich gar keine Bedingnisse mit dem Congresse zu machen Willens wäre, daß ich den bevorstehenden Feldzug als Volontaire machen wollte, und daß ich blos für die bei mir habende Officiers die Patente verlangte, und daß ich weder Rang noch Gage annehmen wollte. Diese Erklärung ward so vom Congresse aufgenommen, als ich es arwartete. Ich erhielt eine schriftliche Danksagung in den verbindlichsten Ausdrücken, mit dem Anerbieten, daß ich in allen Stücken defrayirt werden sollte. Meine Officiers erhilten ihre Brevets, und selbst meinem Sekretär wurde der Rang und Gage eines Capitains erteilt.

Hier muß ich bemerken, daß in der Constitution unseres hiesigen Militaires, kein höherer Rang, als der eines GeneralMajors, bestimmt ist. General Washington ist der älteste GeneralMajor; und als General en Chef sind ihm alle Vorrechte eines GeneralFeldMarshalls in andern Armeen, zugestanden. Seine Autorität ist so uneingeschränkt, als die des Stathalters in Holland immer seyn mag. Die andern GeneralMajore, deren Anzahl sich gegenwärtig nicht weiter dann auf 9 erstreckt, commandiren Corps, Treffen, Flügel, und Divisionen: Gen. Maj. Gates commandirt die NordArmee, Gen. Lincoln die SüdArmee, und Gen. Sullivan die Armee gegen die Indier. Alle sind unter den Befehlen des Generals en Chef. Der zweite Rang ist der als Brigadier General: diese commandiren Brigaden, gleich den GeneralMajors in Europäischen Armeen.

Bei meiner Ankunft zur Armee wurde ich ebenfalls mit mehreren EhrenBezeugungen empfangen, als ich erwartete. Gen. Washington kam mir auf etliche Meilen weit entgegen, und

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begleitete mich nach meinem Quartier, woselbst ich einen Officier und 25 Mann zur Wache fand: und als ich solche verbat, mit dem Beisatz, daß ich blos als Volontair anzusehen wäre, erwiderte er auf die höflichste Art, daß die ganze Armee mit Vergnügen solche Volontairs bewachen wollte. — Er präsentirte mir den Gen. Maj. Lord Stirling, und verschiedene andre Generale, und zugleich den Obr. Lieut. Fernans und Maj. Walker, welche der Congreß zu meinen GeneralAdjutanten ernannt. Denselben Tag wurde mein Name der Armee zum LosungsWort gegeben: und den folgenden Tag rückte die Armee aus, und Gen. Washington begleitete mich, um die Truppen zu sehen. Mit Einem Wort, wenn der Prinz Ferdinand von Braunschweig, oder der erste Feldmarschall aus Europa, an meine Stelle gekommen wäre: so hätte er nicht mit mehrern EhrenBezeugungen empfangen werden können.

Meine Volontärdienste dauterten nicht länger, dann 5 Wochen, in welchen ich die Armee exercirte, und verschiedene Veranstaltungen machte, welche mit solchem Beifall angenommen wurden, daß ich den 26. Apr. das Patent als GeneraMajor, und zu gleicher Zeit die Commission als General-Inspecteur aller Armeen, erhielt. Meine Gage wurde auf 16400 französ. Livres festgesetzt: außer diesem wird meine Tafel und alle meine Leute durch einen eignen Commissaire frei gehalten, und in allen Stücken fournirt; 22 Pferde für mich und meine Equipage, und 1 Rittmeister, 2 Lieut., und 40 Dragoner, wurden mir zu meiner Garde vom Congreß zugestanden. Außer diesem haben meine Adjutanten und Officiers die ihrem Rang angemessenen Pferde — und KnechtsPortionen. Ich habe 2 GeneralAdjutanten, 2 InspectionsAdjutanten, und 2 Secretaires, so vom Congreß bezalt werden: außer diesem habe ich den Major des Epinier, einen Neveu des berühmten Beaumarchais, und den Marquis de Brittine, Major in hiesigen Diensten, als Adjutanten.

So sehr diese entscheidende EhrenBezeugungen schmeichelhaft sind: so groß sind meine Verbindungen, mein Freund, um solche zu verdienen. So weit meine Seelen- und Leibes-Kräfte zureichen; wende ich solche ohne Unterlaß an, um das Verlangen einer Nation zu erfüllen, die mich mit solchem Vertrauen beehret. Keine Schwierigkeit, keine Mühe, keine Gefahr, soll und kan meinen Fortgang

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hintern. Mein Departement ist weitläufig: der achte Teil der Welt erwartet, daß meine Verfügungen ihm nützlich seyn sollen. Sie sind es bishero, Gott sei Dank! und mit Freuden will ich für eine Nation sterben, die mich so mit ihrem Zutrauen beehrt. Alle meine Unternehmungen haben bisher den glücklichsten Fortgang; und ich kan sagen, daß mit jedem Tage sich das Zutrauen vermeret, so die Armee in mich gesetzt hat. Bei der Schlacht vor Monmouth leztern Jars, commandirte ich den linken Flügel des ersten Treffens, und war so glücklich, die Entscheidung dieses Tags zu unserm Vorteil zu bringen. Und in allen kleinen Vorfällen, sowol in lezterer als in dieser Compagne, bin ich so glücklich gewesen, daß jeder Soldat wünschet, unter meiner Anfürung zu seyn. Leztern Winter verfertigte ich die Ordinanz für die Infanterie und Cavallerie: sie wurde sogleich gedruckt und publicirt.

Der Congreß bezeugte mir seinen Dank durch ein verbindliches Schreiben, welches in allen Zeitungen publicirt wurde; und machte mir hiernächst ein Präsent von 2 schönen englischen Reitpferden, und 4000 Thlr. (1 Thlr. ist 5 Livr. 10 Sous.). Jeder von meinen Adjutanten, und selbst meine Secretaire, erhielten Gratificationen. Ich brachte meinen Winter in Philadelphia zu. Den 4 Jan. ernannte mich der Congreß zum Mitglied des Kriegs-Directorii. Den 26 März gieng ich zur Armee ab. Wärend meinem Aufenthalt in Philadelphia, errichtete ich eine genaue Freundschaft mit dem französischen Minister Mr. Gerard, dessen Abreise nach Europa ich sehr bedaure. Er tat mir die Ehre, eigens zur Armee zu kommen, um mich zu besuchen. Er wurde bei der Armee mit allen Ehren-Bezeugungen eines Gesandten empfangen. Den Tag nach seiner Ankunft ordete ich ein Manoeuvre mit 8 Regimenter Infanterie und 16 Kanonen an: nach Endigung desselbigen Mr. Gerard, nebst dem General en Chef, und allen Generalen und Obersten der Armee, bei mir speiseten, welches eine Tafel von 60 Couverts ausmachte.

Nunmero bin ich in meiner Tour, um alle Regimenter die Musterung zu passiren, und das System einzufüren, welches in meiner Ordinanz festgesetzt ist. Alles gehet mir hier glücklich von statten. Mein Freund, ich bin nunmero der fünfte General im Rang: und wenn ein Fieber ,oder 1 Lot Blei, meinen Lauf nicht

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unterbricht; so sind die Gränzen weitläuftig genug, um einen Ehrgeizigen zu befriedigen. Zwei bis drei Jare Mühe: und dann, mein Freund, müssen Sie mir versprechen, mich in Paris zu besuchen; und da wollen wir abreden, ob Sie mit mir in Europa, oder in Amerika, zu Mittag speisen wollen. — O mein teuerster Fr. . . . warum habe ich meine Jare so verschleudert! Zwei Jare Arbeit — wenn wir Arbeit und Gefar nicht scheuen — können einen Mann weit bringen! Die Erfarung überzeugt mich, und ich kan mir meine Trägheit nicht vergeben.

Welch ein schönes, welch ein glückliches Land ist dieses! Ohne Könige, ohne Hoheprieſter, ohne aussaugende GeneralPächter,[1] und ohne müßige Baronen. Hier ist jedermann glücklich. Armut ist ein unbekanntes Uebel. Ich würde zu weitläufig werden, wenn ich Ihnen meine Beschreibung von der Glückseligkeit[2] dieser Einwoner machen wollte. Des Abt Raynal seine ist nicht vollkommen richtig, doch die beste: lesen Sie solche, und urteilen Sie selbst.

Nun genug von mir und meinem neuen Vaterlande: wie geht es Ihnen, mein Freund! wie geht es unserer durchlauchtigsten Herrschaft? Mit Versicherung meines untertänigen Respectes, bitte ich beilegendes dem besten Fürsten einzuhändigen. Mein Glück wird alsdann erst vollkommen seyn, wenn Denenselben von der Größe meiner Dankbarkeit überzeugende Beweise werde geben können. Meine weitläuftigen Geschäfte, und die Unsicherheit des Meeres, haben mich bisher daran gehintert. Nichts desto weniger

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[1] In *verbis* simus faciles etc. Als Brutus in Rom die königl. Regierung abgeschafft hatte, sprachen die Hern. Patricier sehr viel von Freiheit, und — ritten indeß beinahe auf den frei gewordenen Plebejern herum. Auch unter dem Protector Cromwell lobsangen viele, besonders Herren von der Armee, daß kein König mer wäre. . . . Das Wort General-Pächter ist von je her in NordAmerika unbekannt: aber wie heißen die Herren, die seit dem J. 1774 den Einwonern alljärlich die großen Summen zur Fortsetzung des Kriegs, bei Strafe von Feuer und Schwerdt abnemen? S.

[2] Alle Europäer, die im jetzigen Kriege nach NAmerika gekommen, sprechen einhellig von diesem ausnemenden, einem jeden sogleich in die Augen fallenden, allgemeinen Wolstande des Landes. Nun dieser von beiden Teilen eingestandne Wolstand, hat entweder erst seit der Rebellion 1774 angefangen. Dies behauptet kein Mensch; dies kan auch nach der Natur der Sache nicht seyn: ein elendes Volk braucht, auch unter der weisesten Leitung, MenschenAlter, um glücklich zu werden. Oder er schreibt sich aus der vorigen Periode her, da NAmerika ruhig unter Brittischer Regierung stand. Also konnte diese nicht hart, unterdrückend, tyrannisch seyn. S.

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habe ich, vor meine Abreise von Philadelphia, einem gewissen Hrn. Robert Morris den Auftrag gemacht, eine complete Collection von NAmerikanischen Bäumen zu besorgen, deren 300 und etliche 20 verschiedene Sorten sind; und von jeder Sorte 3 oder 4 Stämme nächsten Herbst nach Paris unter der Addresse von Mr. Gerard abzusenden: welcher leztere diese Bäume auf meine Kosten nach Strasburg zu senden mir versprochen, und zugleich ein Avertissement an Se Durchl. den Fürsten geben wird. Eine gleiche Collection wurde durch Hern. Morris dieses FrühJar für den König in Frankreich besorgt. Der FasanenGarten ist der vortrefflichste Grund zu dieser Sammlung. Nichts als die Unsicherheit der Schiffart wird mich abhalten können, um mit dieser oder der ersten Gelegenheit, so wol der Fürstin, als auch der Prinzessin von F. . . . durch WestIndische Ware meine ehrfurchtsvolle Erkenntlichkeit zu bezeugen.

Und denn, mein Freund, was für Sie? was für H——, was für ——? In Warheit, ich habe noch Verbindungen zu erfüllen, ehe ich meinen Brief vollende. Was macht Fr——, ist er verheiratet, ist er glücklich? Wo nicht, lassen Sie ihn kommen: jezt kan ich ihm seine Dienste belonen. Im Fall er den Schluß fassen wollte: so geben Sie mir schleunig Nachricht, und ich will seine ReiseKosten nach Strasburg übermachen.

Ich schrieb Ihnen, daß ich Sch—— hier employren wollte, ohngeachtet es schwer ist, ohne die englische Sprache in hiesigen Diensten fortzukommen. Ich bin derselben nunmero vollkommen Meister, daß ich alles schreiben und sprechen kan, was ich will: und selbst meine Ordinanz habe ich in der englischen Sprache niedergeschrieben. Da Sch—— nicht hergekommen ist, und ich von Ihnen seit der Zeit nichts gehört habe: so vermute ich, daß Sie entweder meinen Brief nicht erhalten, oder daß er auf eine andre Art versorgt ist. — Uebrigens muß ich Ihnen aufrichtig gestehen, daß mir hier 6 ausländische Officiers mer zu schaffen machen, als 200 amerikanische; und die meisten Ausländer haben hier ihren Credit durchaus verloren, so daß es von Tag zu Tag schwerer fällt, fremde Officiers zu employiren. Eine große Anzal deutscher Baronen und französischer Marquis sind bereits wieder abgesegelt; und ich bin allemal besorgt, wenn sich ein Baron oder Marquis

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melden läßt. Wir sind hier in einer Republik, und der Hr. Baron gilt nicht Einen Heller mer, als Mstr. Jakob oder Mstr. Peter: und hiezu können sich die (deutschen und) französischen Nasen schwerlich gewöhnen. Unser General der Artillerie war Buchbinder in Boston: ein würdiger Mann, der sein Metier aus dem Grunde versteht, und seine gegenwärtige Stelle mit vielen Ehren verwaltet.

Der Baron von Kalbe, und ich, sind nun die einzigen fremden Generale in hiesigen Diensten: und Kalbe, welcher über 30000 Livr. Einkünfte in Frankreich hat, wird mit Ende dieses Feldzugs resigniren.[3] — Nun, mein Freund, will ich Ihnen noch meinen Prospect vorlegen, und dann meinen Brief schließen. Ich endige diesen Krieg hier, oder er endiget mich: warscheinlicher Weise kan England das Spiel nicht länger, als höchstens 2 Jare, aushalten. Alsdann ist meine Besorgung, um das MilitärWesen nud die Miliz in den 13 Provinzen auf einen gleichförmigen und soliden Fuß zu setzen, und alsdann mit dem Congreß abzurechnen, was wir einander schuldig sind. Die Beibehaltung meines Apointements à 16400 Livr. ist mir bereits auf Zeitlebens versichert: nicht Güter, sondern Herrschaften, in der besten Provinz Jersey oder Pensylvaien, hat mir der Congreß versprochen: eine considerable Pension von Frankreich nach (glücklich) geendigtem Kriege, wurde mir von dem französischen Hof zugesagt, bevor ich nach Amerika ging: und dann kan ich auf eine gute Gratification, von jeder der 13 Provinzen insbesondre, Rechnung machen. Alles dieses erfordert nicht mehr dann 3 Jare Leben, Gesundheit, Standhaftigkeit und Mut. Die ersten 2 Umstände hängen nicht von mir ab: die leztern sind in meiner Gewalt und Willen. Und wenn dieses erfüllt ist, mein Freund! dann sehe ich Sie in Europa; und dann verabreden wir mit einander, ob Sie bei mir in Philadelphia, oder zu Paris, zu Mittag essen wollen.

Glauben Sie mir, mein Freund! dieser Erdball ist nicht so groß, als wir uns einbilden. Eine Ameise verdient nicht ihre Nahrung, wenn sie zu träge ist, solche am andern Ende des Haufens zu suchen; und ich verschleuderte 14 Jare meines Lebens. Nunmero ist Canada mir die Wildhütte, Georgien der Lindich: und

[3] Kalbe war noch neulich, den 16. Aug. 1780, mit in dem Treffen bei Camden, wurde verwundet, und gefangen, und starb. S.

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dieser Strich enthält den achten Teil der Welt; an beiden Enden dieses Teils wird ein von mir unterzeichneter Befel vollzogen! Dieses schmeichelt ein wenig einen Ehrsüchtigen, und hieran erkennen Sie Ihren Freund.

Wenn Sie mir schreiben, mein bester Freund! so addressiren Sie hinfüro ihre Briefe an Mr. Gerard à Versailles, durch welchen ich sie am sichersten erhalten werde. Hier ist seine Adresse. Mr. *Gerard,* Conseiller des Affaires Etrangeres, à *Versailles.* — Und hier die meinige:

> To His Excellence, the honorable Baron *of Steuben,* Inspector General and Major General of the Armees of the united States in North America.

Haben Sie die Gewogenheit, mein Freund! und senden Sie dem würdigen General R..d einen Auszug meines Schreibens. Meine häufigen Geschäfte verhintern mich, an alle diejenige Personen zu schreiben, welche ich verehre. Sp . . . gehört mit unter diese Zal: lassen Sie ihn meine gegenwärtige Umstände wissen; ich bin versichert, er nimmt Teil daran. Wenn General R . . . oder sonst jemand von meinen Freunden, Officers oder andere Personen kennt, die ihr Glück in diesem WeltTeile suchen wollen; so wird eine Zeile von seiner oder Ihrer Hand hinreichend seyn, daß ich alles anwenden werde, um für ihr Glück zu sorgen.

Leben Sie wol, leben Sie glücklich, mein teuerster Freund! Lassen Sie mich bald etwas von Ihnen hören. So lang ich lebe, bin ich mit aufrichtiger Freundschaft

der Ihrige

Steuben.

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Memorials of Baron Von Steuben—Unpublished and Forgotten Papers

PREFATORY REMARKS

Despite the multitude of important letters and documents left by Baron von Steuben, of which the most complete collection is preserved in the sixteen Octavo Volumes and in the two sizable boxes in the library of the New York Historical Society, no attempt has hitherto been made to publish either that whole collection or at least some of the most important papers. This is all the more incomprehensible and surprising since nearly all these papers are historical documents throwing light on the Revolutionary War and on the problems which the founding and especially the safeguarding of the young Republic presented to the distinguished soldier and patriot.

It has, therefore, occurred to the editor that we could not celebrate the bicentennial of Steuben's birthday more fittingly than by printing a few of his most important unpublished writings and thereby give our readers a better insight into the character, the mental power and the ardent patriotism of the man than they could possibly gain from the hackneyed remark in our histories that he was the drillmaster of Washington's Army.

It is significant that several of the papers which are reproduced here from their original manuscripts are essentially concerned with his position as Inspector General of the Army, which he had to explain and to defend to a Congress more or less ignorant of military matters, and not inaccessible to the intrigues of jealous fellow officers. Steuben's remarkable success in the temporary inspectorship to which Washington had appointed him upon his arrival at Valley Forge, and the fact that he was a foreigner had aroused the envy of certain officers among whom Lee, Mifflin and Lafayette were the most conspicuous. Suddenly Steuben found himself checked in his activities by a congressional order, according to which Major Generals and Brigadier Generals should in future exercise their men themselves.

Steuben at first ignored the intrigues behind this order and continued to work in the army as if nothing had happened. Gradually, however, he began to feel the disadvantages of his situation most keenly, and for a time he even seems to have thought seriously of leaving the service and returning to Germany, especially since he was refused a permanent command in the line. That he finally gave up the idea of resigning and decided

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to continue to serve the country in the inspectorship is conclusive proof of his adaptability and his genuine patriotism. It was then that he wrote with the approval of Washington a new plan for the permanent establishment of the inspectorship entitled *"Memorandum."*

In the introduction to this paper he tells of the deplorable conditions of the American Army at Valley Forge, the general confusion and disorder, and how, at the request of Washington, he had sketched a plan for establishing a uniformity in the various departments. Pointing with justified pride to what he had achieved as a temporary Inspector General, he emphasizes at the same time that, to make the effects of his salutary arrangement permanent, the inspectorship itself must in future be made permanent, and its duties and powers be laid down and defined. This he does in the rest of the paper which is devoted to the exposition of his plan.

If Steuben imagined that Congress would immediately adopt his plan he was greatly mistaken. It postponed action for months and finally referred the whole matter to a committee. Not until February 19, 1779, a resolution regulating the inspectorship was finally passed.

While waiting in Philadelphia for Congress to act, Steuben seems to have written the second paper, which is reproduced here: his *"Letter to the Board of War,"* asking its opinion on his manuscript containing his instructions to the soldiers which thus far he had been obliged to give extempore.

Again Steuben reviewed in this letter the chaotic condition in which he found the Army at Valley Forge, and he proceeds to describe the measures he took to get order into the chaos. The instructions which had brought about the decided change in the Army he has now gotten in shape for the printer.

The Board of War as well as Congress immediately recognized the value of Steuben's work and ordered it printed. As this book which was entitled "Regulations for the order and discipline of the troops of the United States"; later known and long used in the Army as "the blue book," is too bulky for reproduction in the year-book, we print instead his rare *Abstract of a "System of Military Discipline, especially composed for the use of the Militia of Pennsylvania."* Philadelphia, 1779.

In a letter addressed to the Officers and Privates of the Militia of Pennsylvania Joseph Reid, President of Congress and the Board of War, especially recommends the "Abstract," the result of great experience compiled by Steuben, "the valuable and judicious officer," for the use of the continental troops. It is significant that Reid reminds them of the "inestimable advantages" which the "Abstract" has for "a well regulated Militia," the very expression which Washington afterwards used in his recommendation of a general organization of the national man-power for the national defense. When perusing the "Abstract" the present day reader will get an idea of the thoroughness of Steuben's instructions

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which he himself had imbibed in the rigorous school of Frederick the Great, and without which it remains doubtful whether Washington's Army could have defeated the well trained and well equipped English and Hessian troops in comparatively so short a time.

The list of the German Officers who were taken prisoners of war at Yorktown, October 19th, 1871, is of peculiar value. Not only because it is the only source of our knowledge of these names, but also because Steuben's request for them doubtless manifests his human interest in the fate of his captured countrymen. Comparing the original numbers of the officers of the 5 regiments on their arrival in America with the numbers given by Adjutant von Hoenning, we find that the losses which they suffered during the siege of Yorktown must have been considerable. About one-half of the captured officers remained with their regiments and shared the hardships of the captivity of the common soldiers, while the others went to New York with Cornwallis.

Among the plans which Steuben left as a legacy to the American nation after the war was over is the highly important plan for the establishment of a military Academy and a military Manufactory which he had sketched at the request of General Lincoln, the Minister of War. What Steuben had in mind was the establishment of an institution after the model of the Prussian military schools founded by the Great Elector and later developed by Frederick the Great, in which the future officers of the American Army were to be educated. How admirably he succeeded in transplanting and adopting the organization of the Prussian military schools to American conditions is shown by the plan itself and its later realization in the Military Academy at West Point.

Steuben's instructive letter to Lieutenant-General von Gaudy, a Prussian officer who, like Steuben, had been a pupil of the great Frederick and had fought in the Seven Years' War, is given here in English, although it was originally written in French. It is one of the few letters which show that Steuben had not broken off all connections with his former comrades, and at the same time gives us a glimpse of the sources of his military writings and the literature he consulted. With just pride he points to the fact that he had succeeded in forming an army capable of defeating Great Britain and that the result of this Revolution had crowned his enterprise. While he cannot give an account similarly satisfactory of the political affairs, he still amuses himself with the profession which for so many years was the object of his studies. It is for this reason that he asks his friend and former comrade to give him a copy of the works which he had published on military matters. Especially he asks for a German copy of von Gaudy's "Elements of Tactics," of which he wants to make a more accurate translation for his American pupils than that which they are now using.

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The most elaborate and important of Steuben's papers on military policy, given here in the original draft as well as in the later printed form, is the *"Letter on the subject of an established Militia, addressed to the Inhabitants of the United States,"* published during the latter part of 1784. New York, printed by J. McLean & Co.

In an introduction showing the remarkable penetration with which he surveyed the geographical and political situation of America and its attendant difficulties and dangers, Steuben points out how the unguarded Eastern Coast depends for its security on an adequate Navy, while the protection of the Western Frontier, exposed to the constant attacks of the Indians, rests upon a chain of well chosen posts, strongly fortified and respectably garrisoned. It is upon the necessity of such protection that he bases his subsequent plan of an established Militia, for upon it will depend not only the American share of "a most lucrative future commerce," but also "the peace, prosperity and extension of the Western settlement," which his prophetic eye foresees.

Steuben had submitted his plan to Washington who, in a letter of March 15th, 1784, expressed his hearty concurrence after he made some small alterations. These changes can easily be discovered now by comparing Steuben's draft with the printed copy. It seems to me significant that Steuben should have addressed his publication directly to the citizens of the United States. Whether he did this at the suggestion of Washington we do not know, we may conclude, however, that it was not done without the latter's knowledge. In view of the excellent character and the great national importance of our document it is all the more surprising that only a very few copies of the printed version should have come down to us.

As General Palmer in his present enlightening essay on "Steuben as a Military Statesman" has discussed this paper so ably, further discussion of its contents does not seem necessary at this place.

J. G.

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I.

MEMORANDUM.

When these troubles first began, the citizens unanimously took up arms to defend themselves against their oppressors. The courage and firmness of those Provinces thus began to shake off the yoke, engaged the others to follow their example, and fight for the cause of Liberty. They formed Battalions, Regiments, Companies, etc. They chose Generals, Colonels, and Officers of every rank. The greatest part of those officers distinguished themselves by their bravery, some by their knowledge and penetration, and very few by the military experience they had acquired in the last war, in serving Great Britain against the French. Such was the state of the American Army at the beginning of this War, when Congress found it necessary to take into their service foreign officers of experience in order to establish an uniform system in the Army. Several presented themselves, and were advantageously employed, but most of them not answering the good opinion that had been entertained of their military knowledge, and the native officers perceiving the ignorance of those Foreigners, grew dissatisfied to see them filling superior posts, which they themselves could in fact more justly claim. Several were highly discontented, and a general prejudice against foreigners soon prevailed. The greatest part of them proved unequal to the employment with which they had been entrusted, and were obliged to return home. The American officers supported then themselves their new military establishment, which became more and more extensive as the Army grew more formidable.

Soon after, a great number of French officers, animated by the noblest desire of acquiring glory, came over and offered their services to these States. The greatest part of them, were officers of distinguished merit and abilities, acquainted both with

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the theory and practice of the several parts of the art of war—officers of the corps of artillery and engineers, having the strongest recommendations, but the Nation was already so prejudiced against them, that their being employed in the Army excited new discontent and the greatest part of them not being able to exhibit their military knowledge, for want of the English tongue, they had so many *disagreements* that they left the service and the Continent, some others undertook to introduce military discipline in the Army, but they met with so many obstacles that they gave up their enterprize, and contented themselves with showing their courage and intrepidity on every occasion.

The Army being always in motion, the Generals always employed in the operation of war, there was very little time to think of introducing either discipline and order, or uniform manoeuvres and evolutions equally necessary for an army. Ours contented themselves with following the regulations of the British as well as the circumstances allowed. However, several parts of the Army—the troops were formed in an imperfect manner, the necessary order was wanting and the several departments: All this began to be attended with very ill consequences for the Army.—The Commander in Chief made his representations to Congress on that object, Commissioners were appointed for regulating the most indispensable things in the several departments of the Army. It was determined that Regiments and Corps should be formed in a different manner. Gen. Gates was appointed President of a Board of War, some plans were sketched out for several parts of the Military Constitution, that have not been executed well enough, to avoid many inconveniencies which are yet subsisting at this time.

Such was the state of the Army when I arrived at Valley Forge.—I found there a Committee of Congress conferring with the Commander in Chief for regulating several objects concerning the Army, as the fixing the number of regiments and companies, which was one of the most essential, the Congress approved their resolution on that head, but the means for putting it in execution were yet wanting. There was no established system of manoeuvers, no settled regulations for discipline and

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good order, or an uniformity in the service. Each regiment had a particular order of march, and a different discipline. Each Col. had his own manner of exercising his troops, each Brigadier a different way of forming his guards, detachments, etc. The brigades and regiments in which our army was divided were so inequal in their numbers that it would have been impossible to execute any manoeuvre or even to make any arrangement.

At that time Gen. Washington proposed me to sketch out a plan for establishing an inspection, in order to introduce an uniformity in all these several parts.

I began by forming battalions of the strength of about half a regiment, according to the new arrangement, i. e. of about 200 rank and file, and as the strength of the regiments differed so much, I divided the brigades into battalions according to their numbers, in order to have corps of a strength nearly equal—in a word, I made use of such means I found at hand to arrive as much as possible at an uniformity in the service, and I appeal to the Commander in Chief and the Army, whether the arrangements I made pro tempore, have not produced a good effect.

However, it is absolutely necessary that the duties of the office of Inspector General should for the future be laid down and defined, in doing which it appears necessary to consider.

1st. What are the motives which induce the States to establish an inspection in the Army?

2°. In what manner can this inspection be established conformable to the genius of the country and constitution of the Army?

The absolute necessity of uniformity in an army is so well known that it needs no argument. To expect this a military code, however well it might be written would not of itself be sufficient.—The rules there laid down would be differently explained and executed.—Disputes would arise, and uniformity never established.—It is therefore necessary that some person should be appointed to preside over the execution of those rules and this is the duty of the Inspector General.

The Commander in Chief of an army has it not in his power to attend in so particular a manner to the different departments—

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the office of Inspector Gen. should be confided in some intelligent gen. officer well versed in the theory and practice of manoeuvering troops, the composition and formation of the different corps of an army—the customs of different armies—the necessary equipment of the troops, etc., etc.—all which should come under his notice—uniformity in all these parts, as the arming, cloathing and pay of the troops is indispensably necessary.—One or more regiments better armed than the rest will create discontent, murmur, and often a revolt in an army—all which will be prevented by the appointment of an Inspector General whose duty it is to preside over these matters.

The papers herewith delivered marked A and B are extracts of the duties of the Inspectors General, in the French and Prussian service, wrote by officers who have served those Powers, and translated by Mr. Walker.

Neither of these arrangements can be adopted without alterations, in a free state where the Troops of the different provinces consider themselves as allies united to defend the same cause.—In Prussia the Inspector General is properly the King's Commissary.—He receives all his orders from him, and is accountable to him only for his actions.—In France the Inspector General is the Minister of War's Commissary, whose orders he receives and presides at the execution.—But here, where we are happy enough to have neither king nor minister, the question is, of whom the Inspector General is to receive his orders, and to whom he is answerable for their execution.

Congress has established a Board of War, and I imagine that the Inspector General should be under an immediate control from that board, who themselves are answerable to Congress. The Inspector General should then be answerable to the Board of War, and each Colonel to the Inspector General. In that manner, he will be the Commissary of the States, and as such, every regiment, corps or particular officer are obliged to give him an account of every thing that belongs to his department.

It may be asked: How far the Inspector General is subject to the Commander in Chief? I answer: As far as the General of Artillery, the Quarter-Master General, or any other General

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in the Army, so far, that tho he were authorized by the Board of War, he should not have it in his power to introduce the least thing without the consent of the Commander in Chief, and in case he has any objection to what the Inspector General wants to alter or to introduce, the execution of it must be suspended, till further orders from Congress.

But no body in the army, besides the Commander in Chief has a right to give orders to the Inspector General relative to his department; his military rank in the army must not be confounded with his rank of inspector.

It is to be wished for several reasons that no stranger might ever be entrusted with the place of Inspector General, but that that employment be always in the hands of a general officer native of the country, but if Congress thinks fit to entrust a foreigner, I propose that at the same time a Brigadier of the Nation be appointed and joined with him in the office, who, acting in conjunction with him, may acquaint himself with the duties of that department, and one day become Inspector General himself.

In the arrangement which I made pro tempore, there were only four Lieut. Cols. appointed as Sub-Inspectors. I propose to preserve the same number for the Infantry, but instead of being distributed in the several Divisions of the Army, I wish they could have the inspection of the troops of the different States, that is to say, that each Col. Inspector might have the troops of three or four States under his inspection.

A Colonel would be also necessary for inspecting the cavalry, and another for the light troops, all receiving their instructions relative to the discipline, order and exercise from the Inspector General.

The appointment of the Brigade Inspector has not quite answered my wishes. I requested a Major out of each brigade, and I was given a great number of Captains, some Majors, and even some Colonels to fill that part; however, all of them officers of merit and to whom are owing the progress our Army have already made in the manoeuvres. I think, however, more proper, to join this function with that of the Major of Brigade, if Con-

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gress thinks fit to do with regard to the latter, what Marshal de Broghe did in the French Army last war.—That is, that one of the oldest Majors be chosen out of each brigade, under the appellation of Majors of Brig. His business will be to collect the returns, lists, etc., of all the battalions of his brigade; he is to keep the details, and take care of the formation of all the guards, detachments, etc. All the orders are to be directed to him, and he is to impart them to the brigadiers and colonels, and by the adjutants to all the officers of his brigade. He is to inspect into the police of the camp, the discipline and order of the service.—He is to do no duty in the line, except going with detachments against the enemy. He is to be always in camp, and has his orders executed thro' the adjutants of the battalions. But then, it would be necessary for the brigadiers to have an A B C with the rank and pay of first lieutenant, to be allowed two horses and a servant, and consequently entitled to two rations for man and horse, and to be under the immediate orders from the Brigadier General.

The rank of the Inspector General and of the officer joined with him in the office should always be determined by Congress—I think that the more his functions are important, the more he should be entitled to a respectable rank. In France and Prussia, the Inspectors General are ancient Lieutenant Generals who besides their authority as inspectors, take in their turn the commands and enjoy in their turn the prerogative their rank entitles them to; and I doubt whether any officer in the service would accept of the office of Inspector General, if that office deprived him of his command in the line, and of ever having an opportunity of distinguishing himself against the enemy.

The colonels appointed as sub-inspectors preserve their command and rank in the line, but when they are acting in this last character, they are not to be considered according to the rank they hold, but the functions they are performing as inspectors appointed by the States, and authorized to make all the enquiries relating to that department. So no coll. is to make any difficulty to have his regt. mustered by a colonel younger than himself, it is not the colonel but the inspector who is then mustering. In

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the performance of his office the inspector is the representative of the States, and is to be respected as such, without any regard to his rank in the line of the army.

(In France, the colonels of regiments are obliged to have their regiments mustered not only by the Inspectors General, but by the Commissaries of War who have not even a military rank in the Army.—In Prussia, whole garrisons are mustered by inferior officers when they are acting as inspectors.)

No inspector is to muster his own regiment.

The Department of the Inspection being thus established, approved and authorized by Congress, it remains to examine in what manner the Inspector General, the general officer joined with him in the office, and the colonels inspectors are to exercise their functions. Congress has already given out general resolutions, which may serve as instructions to the Inspector General, but to those instructions, and the duties of the inspectors in foreign service, our circumstances require several things to be added which are of the greatest importance.

1°. In foreign services, the regts. are already formed, there is nothing to do but to keep them complete; in our army on the contrary, the greatest part are not yet formed, or rather have not been as yet completed.

2°. In foreign services, the Inspector General is to keep the regiments compleat in cloathing, arms and accoutrements; in our army, several regiments are not yet completely equipt.

3°. In foreign services there is an established military code, and it is by that code the inspector judges whether the troops are in order or not; in our service, that code is yet to be written, and it is the Inspector General's duty to compose it, and submit it to Congress to have it approved of and authorized.

Among these important objects the formation of regiments appears to me the most essential. Some of our regiments are almost compleat, some want half their men, and some have not the eighth part of them—which is the cause of the greatest disorder in the administration as well as in the manoeuvres and the service in general.

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It is then necessary that the Inspector General begin by making an exact review of every regiment in particular, of which he is to make his report, not only to the Commander in Chief, but to the Board of War. In that review, the Inspector General is to examine 1st the number and situation of the men of each regt. 2°. The number and condition of the arms. 3°. The cloathing. 4°. The tents and other equipage. Each colonel is to be obliged to give the Insp. Gen. exact returns of all these objects, he afterwards sends his report to the Board of War, and gives at the same time advice to the several departments, that the regiments may be provided with their wants.

I have already hinted that it would be convenient to appoint the colonels inspectors to the troops of the several States, and I think it should also be proper that they might keep up a correspondence with the Legislature of the States of which they have the troops under their inspection, as much for the purpose of recruiting the regiments, as to provide them with the necessary arms and equipment.

At the 1st review, the Inspector Gen. must take exact information of all the effective men, not only of those present with the regiment, but of all the rank and file who are otherwise employed but not in the service of the guards and the line.

He must examine every man singly, in order to know whether he has been given exact returns of the regiment—he must examine the arms, accoutrements and ammunition of each soldier.

He must himself give the form for all the returns he asks for, and when he finds fault in the administration, discipline, or any other part, he must acquaint with it the Commander in Chief, and propose the means of remedying it.

The Inspector General is to have a collection of all the military regulations hitherto given, add to it those he judges necessary, and put them all in order, after which, he is to submit them to the judgment and approbation of the Board of War, or other persons appointed by Congress, and then they must be printed as a military code.

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The Inspector General and the officers under his orders are to redact, digest that work, and at the beginning of the next campaign part of the regulations are to be printed and distributed among the officers of the army.

The exercise and manoeuvering of the troops will always be under the inspection of the Inspector General, all the new manoeuvres will be introduced by him and the old ones executed according to the new established principles. In order to maintain so necessary an uniformity, the colonels inspectors will cause every day a brigade to exercise in their presence, they will have two or more battalions formed out of it—they will direct the exercise or manoeuvre and have it executed by the colonels of the regiments, tho' those colonels might be older than themselves in the army.

It is in these circumstances particularly, that the colonels insprs. must be respected as inspectors, not as colols.

When the inspector is not present the brigadier, or, on his absence, the oldest colonel is to order the exercise, and the manoeuvres which they are at liberty to vary as the circumstances and the ground require, without however, altering anything in the principles of the execution.

When a manoeuvre is to be performed with several brigades, the Inspector General is to present his disposition to the Commander in Chief; the brigadiers and the battalions that are to execute the manoeuvres are to be appointed in general orders, and are to receive their instructions from the Inspector General.

In camp or garrison, where there is a parade of the guards, the inspector is to cause his troops to perform two or three evolutions. The adjut. gen. or town major must for that purpose assemble the troops an hour before guard mounting, then the inspector orders the exercise. But as soon as the drums beat the General, the inspector leaves the command to the gen. of the day in camp, and in a garrison to the commandant of the place.

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II.

LETTER TO THE WAR-BOARD.

When I arrived at Valley Forge, I made it my chief care to instruct myself of the state of our army, and the formation of our brigades and battalions, both of infantry, cavalry, artillery and light troops.

His Excellency Gen. Washington ordered the necessary information to be given to me in writing, and I was struck at first sight, with the disproportion between the military constitution of our army, and its real state.—The difference was no less than 6 to 46, and tho' I was assured every day that a number of recruits were expected, I could not but foresee the impossibility, of our army being so much as half compleated.

The infantry was divided into brigades—but those brigades were so unequal in number, that the one could scarce come to a sixth part of the other.

The difference between the regiments was still more perceptible than that between the brigades, and the same disproportion subsisted between the companies of every regt.

The formation of a regiment was then impossible, since there were but very few of these, the colonels opposed that of the brigades; every one of them would command his own regt., tho' he could have no more than 40 men under arms.—So, each regiment was divided in as many platoons as its strength allowed and all these platoons together composed a brigade, stronger or weaker.

They differed even in the manner of forming a troop or a composed battalion, each brigade major had his own peculiar formation.

There was no more uniformity in the manoeuvres than in the formation.—Each colonel exercised his own regiment ac-

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cording to his own ideas, or to those of any military author that might have fallen into his hands.

The only part which retained a shadow of uniformity, was the least essential of all, the manual exercise, as it was nearly an imitation of that established in the English Army.

The most essential part which is the march-and manoeuvering-step, was as varied as the colour of our uniforms.

Such was the state of our army, when the Commander in Chief desired me to exercise the troops and introduce an uniformity of manoeuvres.

The season was already advanced, and I foresaw that I would perhaps have no more than five or six weeks, to execute an enterprize to success of which required an infinite detail.—I was quite destitute of the necessary means—but instead of looking for the means I wanted, I shifted it as well as I could with those I found at my hand.

Instead of following the ordinary system of the exercise *en détail,* I overturned it, and began where (in following military rules) I ought to have finished.—I formed battalions, and I exercised *en grand.*

My enterprise succeeded better than I had dared to expect, and I had the satisfaction in a month's time, to see not only a regular step introduced in the Army, but I also made manoeuvres that were performed with ten and twelve battalions with as much precision, as the evolution of a single company.

I dictated my dispositions in the night, in the day I had them performed.

The Commander in Chief appointed some brave officers to assist me in my operations, and it is more to them than to myself, who was then quite ignorant of the language, that America owes the sudden change that was brought about in the order of our Army.

It was in a good way of becoming soon (as I had promised myself) in a state little different from the best in Europe, had I not met with, an insurmountable obstacle, which is yet subsisting, and the removal of which I will not venture to propose.—This

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obstacle, is our Military Constitution, an ill combined, ill calculated one, and I dare say, every way defective, as constitution more hurtful to us than the armies of the enemy, because it opposes itself to the good order of arrangment indispensably necessary for the good of an army. But I have now said enough about evils we cannot hinder, therefore I will proceed:

As I was obliged to give my instructions in an ex tempore manner and even to adapt the plan of my operations to the circumstances, rather than to my particular system, I proposed to put in order those instructions I had already performed, and to add those which I thought indispensably necessary, and to redact under the direction of the Commander in Chief, a code of military regulations, to introduce a thorough uniformity in the service.

The General approved my design, and to facilitate the execution, ordered me to repair to Philadelphia, where I might be at hand to have the necessary informations from the Board af War, etc.

I have the honor, Gentlemen, to present you the beginning of this work, it will be as little complicated as possible, so I flatter myself that it will prove as useful to the militias, as to the standing army.

Before I proceed any further in this performance, I desire to have your opinion of it. I shall afterwards present it to His Excellency the Commander in Chief, that he may add or diminish what he shall think fit.—I will then submit it again to you, Gentlemen, that you may make your report to the Honorable Congress, in order to have their sanction and authority to put it in execution.

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III.

FOR THE USE OF THE MILITIA OF PENNSYLVANIA

An Abstract of a system of Military Discipline: framed by the Hon. the Baron Steuben, Major General and Inspector General of the Armies of these United States. Approved by His Excellency General Washington. Confirmed by the Hon. the Congress. Philadelphia: Printed by F. Bailey, in Market Street. M.DCC.LXXIX.

To the Officers and Privates of the Militia of Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen,

Permit me to recommend to you, the following Extracts from a System of Military Discipline, formed by the Baron Steuben, Inspector General of the armies of these United States. They are the result of great experience, and compiled by this valuable and judicious officer, for the use of the continental troops, approved by his Excellency General Washington, and established by Congress, as the rule of practice and discipline in their armies. The whole is simple and easy; but this Abstract renders it more so, as every motion and evolution, not absolutely necessary for actual service, is retrenched. To set before you the inestimable advantages of a well regulated militia, or to animate you to improve yourselves in the use of arms, and observance of discipline, are, at this time of day, unnecessary; your good sense, your experience of the advantages to be derived from it; and, above all, the spirit you have shewn in this great contest for freedom, afford the most solid assurances, that you will consider that service most pleasant and honorable, which will best qualify you to save and serve your country. The hourly expectation of reinforcements at New York, to make the last desperate and destructive effort of disappointed tyranny and malice; the recom-

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mendation of the Honorable Congress thereupon; a regard to our own safety, and of those who are dear to us as ourselves; the preservation of this beautiful and convenient city, and the honour and interests of the state, all conspire to animate, and even demand of us, that we should be vigilant, active and persevering.

For my own part, Gentlemen, I shall never call you to any danger or hardship, which I shall not partake with you. The honour of leading you to the field, in case of an invasion, or of a vigorous exertion to drive our enemies entirely out of our land, and being at all times connected with you in military duty, I consider as one of the most distinguished and pleasing duties of the station to which I am advanced.

I am, Gentlemen,

With the greatest regard and esteem,

Your most obedient,

And very humble servant,

JOS. REED, President.

Chapter I.

Of the Formation of a Company.

A company is to be formed in two ranks, at one pace distance, with the tallest men in the rear, and both ranks sized, with the shortest men of each in the centre. A company thus drawn up, is to be divided into two sections or platoons; the captain to take post on the right of the first platoon, covered by a serjeant; the lieutenant on the right of the second platoon, also covered by a serjeant; the ensign four paces behind the centre of the company; the first serjeant two paces behind the centre of the first platoon, and the eldest corporal two paces behind the second platoon; the other two corporals are to be on the flanks of the front rank.

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Chapter II.

Of the Formation of a Regiment.

A regiment is to consist of eight companies, which are to be posted in the following order, from right to left.

First captain's
Colonel's.
Fourth captain's.
Major's.
Third captain's.
Lieutenant colonel's.
Fifth captain's
Second captain's.

For the greater facility in manoeuvering, each regiment consisting of more than one hundred and fifty files, is to be formed in two battalions, with an interval of twenty paces between them, and one colour posted in the centre of each battalion; the colonel fifteen paces before the centre of the first battalion; the lieutenant-colonel fifteen paces before the centre of the second battalion; the major fifteen paces behind the interval of the two battalions; the adjutant two paces from the major; the drum and fife-major two paces behind the centre of the first battalion; their places behind the second battalion being supplied by a drum and fife; and the other drums and fifes equally divided on the wings of each battalion.

When a regiment is reduced to one hundred and sixty files, it is to be formed in one battalion, with both colours in the centre; the colonel sixteen paces before the colours; the lieutenant-colonel eight paces behind the colonel; the major fifteen paces behind the centre of the battalion, having the adjutant at his side; the drum and fife-major two paces behind the centre of the battalion; and the drums and fifes equally divided on the wings.

Every battalion, whether it compose the whole, or only half of a regiment, is to be divided into four divisions and eight platoons; no platoon to consist of less than ten files; so that a

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regiment consisting of less than eighty files, cannot form a battalion, but must be incorporated with some other, or employed on detachment.

In case of the absence of any field officer, his place is to be filled by the officer next in rank in the regiment; and in order that the officers may remain with their respective companies, if any company officer is absent, his place shall be supplied by the officer next in rank in the same company; but should it happen that a company is left without an officer, the colonel or commanding officer may order an officer of another company to take the command, as well for the exercise as for the discipline and police of the company in camp.

When the light company is with the regiment, it must be formed twenty paces on the right on the parade, but must not interfere with the exercise of the battalion, but exercise by itself; and when the light infantry are embodied, every four companies will form a battalion, and exercise in the same manner as the battalion in the line.

The Manual Exercise.

I.

Poise—Firelock! Two motions.

1st. With your left hand turn the firelock briskly, bringing the lock to the front, at the same instant seize it with the right hand just below the lock, keeping the piece perpendicular.

2d. With a quick motion bring up the firelock from the shoulder directly before the face, and seize it with the left hand just above the lock, so that the little finger may rest upon the feather spring, and the thumb lie on the stock; the left hand must be of an equal height with the eyes.

II.

Cock—Firelock! Two motions.

1st. Turn the barrel opposite to your face, and place your thumb upon the cock, raising the elbow square at this motion.

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2d. Cock the firelock by drawing down your elbow, immediately placing your thumb upon the breech-pin, and the fingers under the guard.

III.

Take Aim! One motion.

Step back about six inches with the right foot, bringing the left toe to the front; at the same time drop the muzzle, and bring up the butt-end of the firelock against your right shoulder; place the left hand forward on the swell of the stock, and the fore-finger of the right hand before the trigger; sinking the muzzle a little below a level, and with the right eye looking along the barrel.

IV.

Fire! One motion.

Pull the trigger briskly, and immediately after bringing up the right foot, come to the priming position, placing the heels even, with the right toe pointing to the right, the lock opposite the right breast, the muzzle directly to the front and as high as the hat, the left hand just forward of the featherspring, holding the piece firm and steady; and at the same time seize the cock with the fore-finger and thumb of the right hand, the back of the hand turned up.

V.

Half-cock—Firelock! One motion.

Half bend the cock, briskly bringing down the elbow to the butt of the firelock.

VI.

Handle—Cartridge! One motion.

Bring your right hand short round to your pouch, flapping it hard, seize the cartridge, and bring it with a quick motion to your mouth, bite the top off down to the powder, covering it instantly with your thumb, and bring the hand as low as the chin, with the elbow down.

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VII.

Prime! One motion.

Shake the powder into the pan, and covering the cartridge again, place the three last fingers behind the hammer, with the elbow up.

VIII.

Shut—Pan! Two motions.

1st. Shut your pan briskly, bringing down the elbow to the butt of the firelock, holding the cartridge fast in your hand.
2d. Turn the piece nimbly round before you to the loading position, with the lock to the front, and the muzzle at the height of the chin, bringing the right hand up under the muzzle; both feet being kept fast in this motion.

IX.

Charge with Cartridge! Two motions.

1st. Turn up your hand and put the cartridge into the muzzle, shaking the powder into the barrel.
2d. Turning the stock a little towards you, place your right hand closed, with a quick and strong motion, upon the butt of the rammer, the thumb upwards, and the elbow down.

X.

Draw—Rammer! Two motions.

1st. Draw your rammer with a quick motion half out, seizing it instantly at the muzzle backhanded.
2d. Draw it quite out, turn it, and enter it into the muzzle.

XI.

Ram down—Cartridge! One motion.

Ram the cartridge well down the barrel, and instantly recovering and seizing the rammer backhanded by the middle, draw

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it quite out, turn it, and enter it as far as the lower pipe, placing at the same time the edge of the hand on the butt-end of the rammer, with the fingers extended.

XII.

Return—Rammer! One Motion.

Thrust the rammer home, and instantly bring up the piece with the left hand to the shoulder, seizing it at the same time with the right hand under the cock, keeping the left hand at the swell, and turning the body square to the front.

XIII.

Shoulder—Firelock! Two motions.

1st. Bring down the left hand, placing it strong upon the butt.
2d. With a quick motion bring the right hand down by your side.

XIV.

Order—Firelock! Two motions.

1st. Sink the firelock with the left hand as low as possible, without constraint, and at the same time bringing up the right hand, seize the firelock at the left shoulder.

2d. Quit the firelock with the left hand, and with the right bring it down the right side, the butt on the ground, even with the toes of the right foot, the thumb of the right hand lying along the barrel, and the muzzle being kept at a little distance from the body.

XV.

1st. With the right hand turn the firelock, bringing the lock to the rear, and instantly stepping forward with the left foot a large pace, lay the piece on the ground, the barrel in a direct line from front to rear, placing the left hand on the knee, to support the body, the head held up, the right hand

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and the left heel in a line, and the right knee brought almost to the ground.

2d. Quitting the firelock, raise yourself up, and bring back the left foot to its former position.

XVI.

Take up—Firelock! Two motions.

1st. Step forward with the left foot, sink the body, and come to the position described in the first motion of grounding.

2d. Raise up yourself and firelock, stepping back again with the left foot, and as soon as the piece is perpendicular, turn the barrel behind, thus coming to the order.

XVII.

Shoulder—Firelock! Two motions.

1st. Bring the firelock to the left shoulder, throwing it up a little, and catching it below the tailpipe, and instantly seize it with the left hand at the butt.

2d. With a quick motion bring the right hand down by your side.

XVIII.

Secure—Firelock! Three motions.

1st. Bring up the right hand briskly, and place it under the cock.

2d. Quit the butt with the left hand, and seize the firelock at the swell, bringing the arm close down upon the lock, the right hand being kept fast in this motion, and the piece upright.

3d. Quitting the piece with your right hand, bring it down by your side, at the same time with your left hand throw the muzzle directly forward, bringing it within about one foot of the ground, and the butt close up behind the left shoulder, holding the left hand in a line with the waist belt, and with that arm covering the lock.

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XIX.

Shoulder—Firelock! Three motions.

1st. Bring the firelock up to the shoulder, seizing it with the right hand under the cock.

2d. Bring the left hand down strong upon the butt.

3d. Bring the right hand down by your side.

XX.

Fix—Bayonet! Three motions.

1st and 2d motion, the same as the two first motions of the secure.

3d. Quitting the piece with your right hand, sink it with your left down the left side, as far as may be without constraint, at the same time seize the bayonet with the right hand, draw and fix it, immediately flipping the hand down to the stock, and pressing in the piece to the hollow of the shoulder.

XXI.

Shoulder—Firelock! Three motions.

1st. Quitting the piece with the right hand, with the left bring it up to the shoulder, and seize it again with the right hand under the cock, as in the second motion of the secure.

2d. Bring the left hand down strong upon the butt.

3d. Bring the hight hand down by your side.

XVII.

Present—Arms! Three motions.

1st and 2d motion, the same as in coming to the poise.

3d. Step briskly back with your right foot, placing it a hand's breadth distant from your left heel, at the same time bring down the firelock as quick as possible to the rest, sinking it as far down before your left knee as your right hand will

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permit without restraint, holding the right hand under the guard, with the fingers extended, and drawing in the piece with the left hand till the barrel is perpendicular; during this motion, you quit the piece with the left hand, and instantly seize it again just below the tail-pipe.

XXIII.

Shoulder—Firelock! Two motions.

1st. Lift up your right foot and place it by your left, at the same time bring the firelock to your left shoulder, and seize the butt-end with the left hand, coming to the position of the first motion of the secure.

2d. Bring the right hand down by your side.

XXIV.

Charge Bayonet! Two motions.

1st. The same as the first motion of the secure.

2d. Bring the butt of the firelock under the right arm, letting the piece fall down strong on the palm of the left hand, which receives it at the swell, the muzzle pointing directly to the front, the butt pressed with the arm against the side; the front rank holding their pieces horizontally, and the rear rank the muzzles of theirs so high as to clear the heads of the front rank, both ranks keeping their feet fast.

XXV.

Shoulder—Firelock! Two motions.

1st. Bring up the piece smartly to a shoulder, seizing the butt with the left hand.

2d. Bring the right hand down by your side.

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XXVI.

Advance—Arms! Four motions.

1st and 2d the same as the two first motions of the poise.

3d. Bring the firelock down to the right side, with the right hand as low as it will admit without constraint, flipping up the left hand at the same time to the swell, and instantly shifting the position of the right hand, take the guard between the thumb and forefinger, and bring the three last fingers under the cock, with the barrel to the rear.

4th. Quit the firelock with the left hand, bringing it down by your side.

XXVII.

Shoulder—Firelock! Four motions.

1st. Bring up the left hand, and seize the fire lock at the swell.

2d. Come smartly up to a poise.

3d and 4th. Shoulder.

Explanation of Priming and Loading, as performed in the Firings.

Prime and Load! Fifteen motions.

1st. Come to the recover, throwing up your firelock, with a smart spring of the left hand, directly before the left breast, and turning the barrel inwards; at that moment catch it with the right hand below the lock, and instantly bringing up the left hand, with a rapid motion, seize the piece close above the lock, the little finger touching the feather-spring; the left hand to be at an equal height with the eyes, the butt of the firelock close to the left breast, but not pressed, and the barrel perpendicular.

2d. Bring the firelock down with a brisk motion to the *priming position,* as directed in the 4th word of command, instantly placing the thumb of the right hand against the face of the steel, the fingers clenched, and the elbow a little turned out, that the wrist may be clear of the cock.

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3d. Open the pan by throwing back the steel with a strong motion of the right arm, keeping the firelock steady in the left hand.

4th. Handle cartridge.

5th. Prime.

6th. Shut pan.

7th. Cast about.

8th and 9th. Load.

10th and 11th. Draw rammer.

12th. Ram down cartridge.

13th. Return rammer.

14th and 15th. Shoulder.

N. B. The motion of recover, coming down to the priming position, and opening the pan, to be done in the usual time, the motions of handling the cartridge to shutting the pan, to be done as quick as possible; when the pans are shut, make a small pause, and cast about together; then the loading and shouldering motions are to be done as quick as possible.

Position of each Rank in the Firings.

Front Rank! Make ready! One motion.

Spring the firelock briskly to a recover, as soon as the left hand seizes the firelock above the lock, the right elbow is to be nimbly raised a little, placing the thumb of that hand upon the cock, the fingers open by the plate of the lock, and as quick as possible cock the piece, by dropping the elbow, and forcing down the cock with the thumb, immediately seizing the firelock with the right hand, close under the lock; the piece to be held in this manner perpendicular, opposite the left side of the face, the body kept straight, and as full to the front as possible, and the head held up, looking well to the right.

Take Aim! Fire!

As before explained.

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Rear Rank! Make Ready! One motion.

Recover and cock as before directed, at the same time stepping about six inches to the right, so as to place yourself opposite the interval of the front rank.

Take Aim! Fire!

As before explained.

The recruits being thus far instructed, the officer must take twelve men, and placing them in one rank, teach them *to dress* to the right and left; to do which the soldier must observe to feel the man on that side he dresses to, without crowding him, and to advance or retire, till he can just discover the breast of the second man from him, taking care not to stoop, but to keep his head and body upright.

When they can dress pretty well, they must be taught *to wheel,* as follows.

To the Right,—Wheel!

At this word of command the men turn their heads briskly to the left hand man.

March!

The whole step off, observing to feel the hand they wheel to, without crowding; the right hand man, serving as a pivot for the rest to turn on, gains no ground, but turns on his heel; the officer will march on the flank, and when the wheeling is finished, command,

Halt!

On which the whole stop short on the foot then forward, bringing up the other foot, and dressing to the right.

To the Left,—Wheel!

The whole continue to look to the right, except the right hand man, who looks to the left.

March!

As before explained.

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Chapter III.

The Exercise of a Company.

Article 1.

Of opening the Ranks.

Rear Rank! Take—Distance!

March!

The rear rank steps back four paces, and dresses by the right; the officers at the same time advancing eight paces to the front, and dressing in a line; the serjeants who covered the officers, take their places in the front rank; the non-commissioned officers who were in the rear, remain there, stepping back four paces behind the rear rank.

Rear Rank! Close to the Front!

The officers face to the company.

March!

The rear rank closes to within a common pace, or two feet; and the officers return to their former posts.

Article 2.

Of the Firings.

The captain will divide his company into two or more sections, and teach them the fire by platoons.

The officers must give the words of command with a loud and distinct voice; observe that the soldiers step off, and place their feet, as directed in the manual exercise; and that they level their pieces at a proper height; for which purpose they must be accustomed always to take sight at some object.

The officer will often command, *As you were!* to accustom the soldier not to fire till he receives the word of command.

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In all exercises in detail, the men will use a piece of wood, instead of a flint; and each soldier should have six pieces of wood, in the form of cartridges, which the serjeant must see taken out of the pieces when the exercise is finished.

When the company exercises with powder, the captain will inspect the company, and see that all the cartridges not used are returned.

Article 3.

Of the March.

In *marching to the front,* the men must be accustomed to dress to the centre, which they will have to do when exercising in battalion; and for this purpose a serjeant must be placed six paces in front of the centre, who will take some object in front to serve as a direction for him to march straight forward; and the men must look inwards, and regulate their march by him.

The captain must exercise his company in different sorts of ground; and when, by the badness of the ground, or any other accident, the soldier loses his step, he must immediately take it again from the serjeant in the centre. The officers must not suffer the least inattention, but punish every man guilty of it.

The Oblique March

Must be practised both in the quick and common step, agreeable to the instructions already given.

The March by Files.

Is as important as difficult. In perfecting it, the officers must be attentive that the soldiers bend their bodies a little forward, and do not open their files.

The leading file will be conducted by the officer; who will post himself for that purpose on its left, when they march by the right, and the contrary when they march by the left.

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The Counter March.

Note. This march must never be executed by larger portions of a battalion than platoons.

Caution.

Take Care to counter march from the Right, by Platoons!

To the Right,—face! March!

The whole facing to the right, each platoon wheels by files to the right about; and when the right hand file goes on the ground where the left stood, the officer orders,

Halt! to the Left,—face!

and the company will be formed with their front changed.

Article 4.

Of Wheeling.

The captain will exercise his company in wheeling entire, and by sections or platoons, both in the common and quick step, taking care that the men in the rear rank incline a little to the right or left, according to the hand they wheel to, so as always to cover exactly their file-leaders.

Article 5.

Of Breaking off, and Forming by the oblique Step.

The captain having divided his company into two sections, will give the word,

Sections! Break off!

Upon which the section on the right inclines by the oblique step to the left, and that on the left, following the former, inclines to the right, till they cover each other, when they march forward.

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Form Company!

The first section inclines to the right, shortening its step, and the second to the left, lengthening its step, till they are uncovered, when both march forward, and form in a line.

Two or more companies may be joined to perform the company exercise, when they have been sufficiently exercised by single companies, but not till then; the inattention of the soldiers, and difficulty of instructing them, increasing in proportion with the numbers.

Chapter IV.

Exercise of a Battalion.

When a battalion parades for exercise, it is to be formed, and the officers posted, agreeable to the instructions already given in the third and fourth chapters.

The battalion being formed, it is then to perform the manual exercise, and the wheelings, marches, manoeuvres and firings described in this and the following chapters, or such of them as shall be ordered.

N. B. When a battalion performs the firings, the six centre files, (*viz.* three on each side the colours) are not to fire, but remain at a reserve for the colours; and the officers of the two centre platoons are to warn them accordingly.

The battalion will wheel by divisions or platoons, by word of command from the officer commanding.

By { *Platoons!* / *Divisions!* } *To the* { *Right,* / *Left,* } *Wheel!*

March!

When the battalion wheels, the platoons are conducted by the officers commanding them; the supernumeraries remaining in the rear of their respective platoons.

The colours take post between the fourth and fifth platoons.

The wheeling finished, each officer commanding a platoon or division, commands.

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Halt! Dress to the Right!

and posts himself before the centre, the serjeant who covered him taking his place on the right.

Forward,—March!

The whole step off, and follow the leading division or platoon; the officer who conducts the column receiving his directions from the commanding officer. When the battalion wheels to the right, the left flank of the platoons must dress in a line with each other, and the contrary when they wheel to the left.

Battalion! Halt!

By Platoons! To the Left,—Wheel!

March!

The wheeling finished, each officer commanding a platoon or division, orders

Halt! Dress to the Right!

dresses his platoon, and takes post in the interval; the battalion being now formed in a line.

Chapter V.

Of the Firings.

When the troops are to exercise with powder, the officers must carefully inspect the arms and cartridge boxes, and take away all the cartridges with ball.

The first part of the general will be the signal for all firing to cease; on the beating of which the officers and non-commissioned officers must see that their platoons cease firing, load and shoulder as quick as possible. The commanding officer will continue the signal till he sees that the men have loaded and shouldered.

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Article 1.

Firing by Battalion.

Caution.

Take Care to fire by Battalion!

Battalion! Make ready! Take Aim! Fire!

If there be more than one battalion to fire, they are to do it in succession from right to left; but after the first round, the odd battalions fire so soon as the respective battalions on their left begin to shoulder; and the even battalions fire when the respective battalions on their right begin to shoulder.

Article 2.

Firing by Divisions and Platoons.

Caution.

Take Care to fire by Divisions!

Division! Make ready! Take Aim! Fire!

They fire in the same order as is prescribed for battalions, in Article 1.

The firing by platoons is also executed in the same order in the wings of the battalions, beginning with the right of each; that is, the first and fifth platoons give the first fire, the second and sixth the second fire, the third and seventh the third fire, and the fourth and eighth the fourth fire; after which they fire as before prescribed.

Article 3.

Firing Advancing.

The battalion advancing receives the word,

Battalion! Halt!

Take Care to fire by Divisions!

They fire as before.

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Article 4.

Firing Retreating.

When a battalion is obliged to retire, it must march as long as possible; but if pressed by the enemy, and obliged to make use of its fire, the commanding officer will order,

Battalion! Halt!

To the Right about,—Face!

and fire by battalion, division, or platoon, as before directed.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Service of the Guards.

Article 1.

Of the different Guards, with their Use.

The different guards of the army will consist of

1st. Out post and piquet guards.
2d. Camp and quarter guards.
3d. General and staff officers guards.

The piquet guards are formed by detachments from the line, and are posted at the avenues of the camp, in such numbers as the general commanding thinks necessary for the security of the camp.

The camp and quarter guards are for the better security of the camp, as well as for preserving good order and discipline.

Every two battalions will furnish a camp and quarter guard between them, to consist of

Subal.	Serj.	Corp.	Drum.	Priv.	
1.	1.	1.	1.	27.	For the camp guard.
–	–	1.	–	9.	For the quarter guard.

The camp guard of the front line is to be posted three hundred paces in front of it, and that of the second line the same

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distance in the rear of the second line, each opposite the interval of the two battalions who furnish it.

Each guard will post nine sentinels, *viz.* one before the guard, two on the right and two on the left; these five sentinels, with those from the other battalions, forming a chain in front and rear of the camp; the sixth and seventh sentinels before the colours; and the eighth and ninth before the tents of the commanding officers of the two battalions.

In order to complete the chain of sentinels round the camp, the adjutant general will order two flank guards from the line, to consist of a commissioned officer, and as many men as are necessary to form a chain on the flanks.

The intention of the camp guards being to form a chain of sentinels round the camp, in order to prevent improper persons entering, or the soldiers going out of camp, the commanding officers of brigades will add to, or diminish them, so as to answer the above purpose.

The quarter guard is to be posted twenty paces in the rear of the line of wagons, and will furnish three sentinels, *viz.* one at the guard, and one behind each battalion.

The guards of the general and field officers will be as follows:

	Sub.	Serj.	Corp.	Priv.
A major general will have.....	1	1	1	20
A brigadier general	0	1	1	12
Quarter-master-gen. (as such).....	0	1	1	12
Adjutant general	0	1	1	12
Commissary general	0	0	1	6
Pay-master general	0	0	1	6
Auditors	0	0	1	6
Judge advocate general.....	0	0	1	3
Muster-master general	0	0	1	3
Clothier general	0	0	1	3
Brigade commissary ..... General hospital..... Provost guard	According to circumstances.			

Any additional guard to the quarter-master, commissary or

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clothier general, will be determined by the stores they may have in possession.

The different guards are all to mount at one hour, to be regulated by the commanding officer for the time being.

The camp and quarter guards are to parade before the interval of their battalions, where they will be formed by the adjutant who furnishes the officer, and immediately sent off to their respective posts.

The guard of a major general is to be furnished from his own division, each brigade furnishing it by turns; it is to be formed by the major of brigade, and sent from the brigade parade.

The guard of a brigadier general is to be furnished by his own brigade, and formed and sent from the brigade parade by the major of brigade. The brigade commissary's guard is to be furnished in the same manner.

The other guards being composed of detachments from the line by brigades, each detachment is formed on the brigade parade by the major of brigade, and sent with an adjutant to the grand parade.

All guards (except those which are honorary) should ordinarily be of force proportioned to the number of sentinels required, allowing three relieves for each post.

Article 2.

Of the Grand Parade.

As soon as a detachment arrives on the grand parade, the officer having dressed the ranks, commands,

Order—Firelocks!

and then takes post eight paces in front of his detachment; the non-commissioned officers fall two paces into the rear, except one who remains on the right of every detachment. Each detachment takes post on the left of that preceding it, and is examined by the brigade major of the day as it arrives.

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When the whole are assembled, the adjutant of the day dresses the line, counts the files from right to left, and takes post on the right.

The brigade major then commands,

Attention! Shoulder—Firelock! Support—Arms!

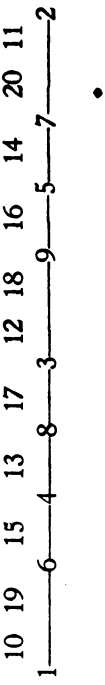
Officers and Non-commissioned Officers!

To the Centre—March!

The officers then march to the centre, and form themselves, according to seniority, in one rank, sixteen paces in front of the guards; the non-commissioned officers advance and form two ranks, four paces in the rear of the officers, and with the same distance between their ranks.

The brigade major then appoints the officers and non-commissioned officers to their posts; the officers in the following manner:

The 1st on the right of the.....1st
2d on the right of the 8th
3d in the centre, on the right of the....5th
4th on the right of the 2d divis. or.....3d
5th on the right of the 4th divis. or....7th
6th on the right of the 2d
7th on the right of the 8th
8th on the right of the 4th
9th on the right of the 6th
10th in the rear of the 1st
11th in the rear of the 8th
12th in the rear of the 5th
13th in the rear of the 3d
14th in the rear of the 7th
15th in the rear of the 2d
16th in the rear of the 6th
17th in the rear of the 4th
18th in the rear of the 5th
19th in the rear of the 1st
20th in the rear of the 8th



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The non-commissioned officers are posted thus: A serjeant on the right of each platoon, and one on the left of the whole; the rest as file-closers equally divided to each platoon.

Whilst this is doing, the adjutant divides the guard into eight platoons, leaving proper intervals between the platoons for the officers who are to command them.

The brigade major having appointed the officers and the battalion being divided, he commands,

Officers and Non-commissioned Officers!

To your Posts!

The officers and non-commissioned officers face outwards from the centre.

March!

They go directly to their posts in the battalion.

The brigade major then advances to the general officer of the day, informs him that the battalion is formed, and takes his directions relative to the exercise.

The general of the day will usually order the manual exercise to be performed, and some manoeuvres, such as he thinks proper; the major of brigade of the day giving the words of command.

The exercise being finished, the major of brigade commands,

Order—Firelocks!

The drums then beat from right to left of the parade, and passing behind the officers of the day, take post on their left.

The major of brigade then orders,

Shoulder—Firelocks! Support—Arms!

Officers and Non-commissioned Officers!

To the Centre—March!

The advance as before to the centre, and the brigade major appoints them to their respective guards, takes the name of the

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officer commanding each guard, and gives him the parole and countersign. The adjutant having in the mean time told off the guards, and divided them into platoons, the brigade major then commands,

Officers and Non-commissioned Officers!

To your Posts! March!

The officers go to their respective posts.

The brigade major then commands,

Present—Arms!

And advancing to the general, acquaints him, that the guards are formed; and on receiving his orders to march them off, he commands,

Shoulder—Firelocks!

By Platoons! To the Right—Wheel! March!

The whole wheel, and march by the general, the officers saluting him as they pass; and when the whole have passed, they wheel off and march to their respective posts.

Article 3.

Of relieving Guards and Sentinels.

The guards in camp will be relieved every twenty-four hours. The guards without the limits of the camp will ordinarily be relieved in the same manner; but this must depend on their distances from camp, and other circumstances, which may sometimes require their continuing on duty for several days. In this case they must be previously notified to provide themselves accordingly.

The guards are to march in the greatest order to their respective posts, marching by platoons, whenever the roads will permit.

When the new guard approaches the post, they carry their arms; and the officer of the old guard, having his guard paraded, on the approach of the new guard, commands,

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Present—Arms!

and his guard present their arms.

The new guard marches past the old guard, and takes post three or four paces on its right (both guards fronting towards the enemy); and the officer commands,

Present—Arms!

and the new guard present their arms.

The two officers then approach each other, and the relieving officer takes his orders from the relieved. Both officers then return to their guards, and command,

Shoulder—Firelocks!

Non-commissioned Officers! Forward,—March!

The non-commissioned officers of both guards, who are to relieve the sentinels, advance in front of the new guard.

The serjeant of the new guard then tells off as many sentinels as are necessary; and the corporal of the new guard, conducted by a corporal of the old guard, relieves the sentinels, beginning by the guard-house.

When the sentinel sees the relief approach, he presents his arms, and the corporal halting his relief at six paces distance, commands,

Present—Arms!

Recover—Arms!

This last command is only for the sentinel relieving, and the one to be relieved; the former immediately approaching with the corporal, and having received his orders from the old sentry, takes his place; and the sentry relieved marches into the ranks, placing himself on the left of the rear rank.

Front—Face!

Both sentries face to the front. The corporal then orders,

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Shoulder—Firelocks! Support—Arms!

March!

and the relief proceeds in the same manner till the whole are relieved.

If the sentries are numerous, the serjeants are to be employed as well as the corporals in relieving them.

When the corporal returns with the old sentinels, he leads them before the old guard, and dismisses them to their ranks.

The officer of the old guard then forms his guard in the same manner as when mounted, and marches them in order to camp.

As soon as he arrives in the camp, he halts, forms the men of the different brigades together, and sends them to their respective brigades, conducted by a non-commissioned officer, or careful soldier.

When the old guard march off, the new guard present their arms, till they are gone, then shoulder, face to the left, and take the place of the old guard.

The officer then orders a non-commissioned officer to take down the names of the guard, in the following manner:

Hours they go on, 10-4, 10-4. 12-6, 12-6. 2-8, 2-8.

	Men's nam.	Men's nam.	Men's na.
Post No. 1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			

Suppose the guard to consist of twenty-four men, and to furnish eight sentinels, they are divided into three relieves, and the posts being numbered, (beginning always with the guard-house) each man's name is put down against the number of the

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post he will always stand sentry at during the guard, by which means an officer knows what particular man was at any post during any hour of the day or night.

The relieve of sentries is always to be marched in the greatest order, and with supported arms, the corporal often looking back to observe the conduct of the men; and if an officer approaches, he is to order his men to handle their arms, supporting them again when he has passed.

The corporals are to be answerable that the sentries, when relieving, perform their motions with the greatest spirit and exactness.

A corporal who is detected in having the insolence to suffer sentries to relieve each other, without his being present, shall, as well as the sentry so relieved, be severely punished.

Article 4.

Instructions to Officers on Guard.

On the vigilance of the officer depends not only the safety of his guard, but that of the whole army.

As it is highly necessary an officer should have some knowledge of his situation, he must, immediately after relieving the old guard, visit the sentinels, and examine the ground round his post; and if he thinks the sentries not sufficient to secure him from a surprize, he is at liberty to place more, acquainting therewith the general or field officer of the day who visits his post; but without their leave he is not to alter any that are already posted. He must cause the roads leading to the enemy and to the next posts to be well reconnoitred by an officer of the guard, or for want of one, by an intelligent non-commissioned officer and some faithful men, inform himself of every thing necessary for his security, and use every possible precaution against a surprize. He must permit no stranger to enter his post, nor suffer his men to talk with him. If a suspicious person, or a deserter from the enemy approaches, he must stop him and send him to headquarters, or to a superior officer. He must on no account suffer the soldiers to pull off their accoutrements, or straggle

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more than twenty paces from the guard; and if water or any other necessaries are wanted for the guard, they must be sent for by a non-commissioned officer and some men (with their arms if at an out-post) on no account suffering a soldier to go by himself; but never whilst the sentinels are relieving. He must examine every relief before it is sent off; see that their arms are loaded and in order, and that the men are acquainted with their duty; and if by any accident a man should get the least disguised with liquor, he must on no account be suffered to go on sentry.

At every relief the guard must parade, and the roll be called; and during the night (and when near the enemy, during the day) the guard must remain under arms till the relief returns.

During the day the men may be permitted to rest themselves as much as is consistent with the safety of the guard; but in the night, no man must be suffered to lay down or sleep on any account, but have his arms constantly in his hands, and be ready to fall in on the least alarm.

Between every relief the sentries must be visited by a non-commissioned officer and a file of men; and, when more than one officer is on guard, as often as possible by an officer. A patrole also must be frequently sent on the roads leading to the enemy.

During the day, the sentinels on the out-posts must stop every party of men, whether armed or not, till they have been examined by the officer of the guard.

As soon as it is dark, the countersign must be given to the sentinels of the piquets and advanced posts, after which they are to challenge all that approach them; and if any person, after being ordered to stand, should continue to approach or attempt to escape, the sentry, after challenging him three times, must fire on him.

The sentinels of the interior guards of the camp will receive the countersign, and begin to challenge at such hours as shall be determined in orders, according to circumstances.

A sentinel, on perceiving any person approach, must challenge briskly, and never suffer more than one to advance, till he

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has the countersign given him; if the person challenged has not the countersign, the sentry must call the serjeant of the guard, and keep the person at a little distance from his post, till the serjeant comes to examine him.

Whenever a sentry on an out-post perceives more than three men approach, he must order them to stand, and immediately pass the word for the serjeant of the guard; the officer of the guard must immediately parade his guard, and send a serjeant with a party of men to examine the party: The non-commissioned officer must order the commanding officer of the party to advance, and conduct him to the officer of the guard; who, in case he is unacquainted with his person, and does not choose to trust either to his clothing or to his knowledge of the countersign, must demand his passport, and examine him strictly; and if convinced of his belonging to the army, must let him pass.

If a sentry, on challenging, is answered, *relief, patrole* or *round,* he must in that case order the serjeant or corporal to advance with the countersign; and if he is then assured of their being the relief, &c. he may suffer them to advance.

A sentinel must take the greatest care not to be surprized; he must never suffer the person who advances to give the countersign, to approach within reach of his arms, and always charge his bayonet.

The officers who mount the camp guards must give orders to their sentries not to suffer any person to pass in or out of camp, except by one of the guards, nor then till the officer of the guard has examined him.

In case one of the guard deserts, the officer must immediately change the countersign, and send notice thereof to the general of the day; who is to communicate the same to the other guards, and the adjutant general.

As soon as the officer of a guard discovers the approach of the enemy, he must immediately send notice to the nearest general officer, call in the sentries, and put himself in the best posture of defence. If attacked on his post, he will defend it to the utmost of his power, nor retreat, unless compelled by superior force; and even then he must retire in the greatest order, keep-

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ing a fire on the enemy, whose superiority, however great, can never justify a guard's retiring in disorder. Should the enemy pursue a guard into camp, the officer must take care to retire through the intervals of the battalions, and forming in the rear of the line, wait for further orders.

When an officer is posted at a bridge, defile, or any work, with orders to maintain it, he must defend himself to the last extremity, however superior the force of the enemy may be, as it is to be supposed that the general who gave those orders will reinforce him, or order him to retire whenever he thinks it proper.

An officer must never throw in the whole of his fire at once; for which reason every guard is to be divided into two or more divisions or platoons, according to its strength; any number above eight and under twenty-eight men forming two platoons; the eldest officer taking post on the right of the first platoon, the next eldest on the right of the second platoon, and the third on the left of the whole; the non-commissioned officers cover the officers; the drum is to be on the right of the captain, and the sentinel one pace advanced of the drum. If the guard consists of no more than twelve men, it forms in one rank.

Article 5.

Method of going and receiving the Grand Rounds.

The general and field officers of the day will visit the several guards during the day, as often and at such hours as they judge proper.

When the sentry before the guard perceives the officer of the day, he will call to the guard to turn out; and the guard, being paraded, on the approach of the officer of the day, present their arms.

The officer of the day will examine the guard, see that none are absent; that their arms and accoutrements are in order; that the officers and non-commissioned officers are acquainted with their duty; and that the sentinels are properly posted, and have received proper orders.

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Not only the officers of the day, but all general officers are at liberty to visit the guards and make the same examination.

The officers of the guard shall give the parole to the officer of the day, if demanded.

During the night, the officers of the day will go the grand rounds.

When the officer of the day arrives at the guard, from whence he intends to begin his rounds, he will make himself known as such, by giving the officer of the guard the parole.— He will then order the guard under arms, and having examined it, demand an escort of a serjeant and two men, and proceed to the next post.

When the rounds are challenged by a sentinel, they will answer, *Grand rounds!* and the sentry will reply, *Stand, grand rounds! Advance serjeant with the countersign!* Upon which the serjeant advances and gives the countersign. The sentinel will then cry, *Advance, rounds!* and present his arms till they have passed.

When the sentry before the guard challenges, and is answered, *Grand rounds!* he will reply, *Stand, grand rounds! Turn out the guard! Grand rounds!* Upon the sentinel's calling, the guard is to be turned out and drawn up in good order, with shouldered arms, the officers taking their posts. The officer commanding the guard will then order a serjeant and two men to advance towards the round and challenge. When the serjeant of the guard comes within ten paces of the rounds, he is to halt and challenge briskly. The serjeant of the rounds is to answer, *Grand rounds!* The serjeant of the guard replies, *Stand, grand rounds! Advance serjeant with the countersign!* and orders his men to present their arms. The serjeant of the rounds advances alone, and giving the countersign, returns to his rounds; and the serjeant of the guard calls to his officer, *The countersign is right!* On which the officer of the guard calls, *Advance, rounds!* The officer of the rounds then advances alone, and on his approach the guard present their arms. The officer of the rounds passes along the front of the guard immediately to the officer, (who keeps his post on the right) and gives him the parole.

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He then examines the guard, orders back his escort, and demanding a new one, proceeds in the same manner to the other guards.

Article 6.

Honours due from Guards to General Officers and others.

To the commander in chief: All guards turn out with presented arms; the drums beat a march, and the officers salute.

To major generals: They turn out with presented arms, and beat two ruffles.

To brigadier generals: They turn out with presented arms, and beat one ruffle.

To officers of the day: They turn out with presented arms, and beat according to their rank.

Except from these rules a general officer's guard, which turns out and pays honours only to officers of superior rank to the general whose guard it is.

To colonels: Their own quarter guards turn out once a day with presented arms; after which they only turn out with ordered arms.

To lieutenant colonels: Their own quarter guards turn out once a day with shouldered arms; after which they only turn out and stand by their arms.

To majors: Their own quarter guards turn out once a day with ordered arms; at all other times they stand by their arms.

When a lieutenant colonel or major commands a regiment, the quarter guard is to pay him the same honours as are ordered to a colonel.

All sentries present their arms to general officers, and to the field officers of their own regiments; to all other commissioned officers they stand with shouldered arms.

The president of congress, all governors in their own states, and committees of congress at the army, shall have the same honours paid them as the commander in chief.

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When a detachment with arms passes before a guard, the guard shall be under arms, and the drums of both beat a march.

When a detachment without arms passes, the guard shall turn out and stand by their arms.

After dark, no honours are to be paid, and when near the enemy, no honours are to be paid with the drum.

THE END.

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IV.

LIST OF THE GERMAN OFFICERS TAKEN PRISONERS AT YORKTOWN, OCTOBER 19th, 1781.

York, Octob. 25th, 1781.

Sir.

In Consequence of Your Command, I collected the Names of the German officers, having been under the Command of Lord Cornwallis, at York and Gloucester, and was at Your Camp the day before yesterday, to do myself the honour to wait on You, and to deliver the above mentioned Return, when I was informed, that You went out just before. As there is some hinderance from having the honour at present, I am as bold as to send them included.

I beg Your leave for waiting on You an other Time, having the honour to be with the utmost Respect,

Sir,

Your

most-obedient & most-

humble Servant

E. C. de Hoenning.

To

Major-General de Steuben.

Return of the officers of the Hessian Prince Hereditary Regiment, taken prisoners October 19th, 1781.

Lieut.-Col. de Fuchs, going to New York.
Major Waldenberg, going to New York.
Captain de Gall, sick at Gloucester.
Captain Lauen, going to New York.
Captain Kummel, going to New York.
Captain Gebhard, with the Regiment.
Captain Kimm, with the Regiment.
Secd Lieut. de Westerhagen, with the Rgmt.
Secd Lieut. de Andresohn, taken Prisoner Octob. 14th.
Secd Lieut. de Keudell, with the Rgmt.
Secd Lieut. Ungewitter, with the Rgmt.
Secd. Lieut. Pfaff, with the Rgmt.

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Ensign Motz, going to New York.
Ensign de Hoenning, Adjut., going to New York.
Ensign Schoenewollf, with the Regiment.
Ensign de Coudres, with the Regiment.

STAFF.

Chaplain Hausknecht, going to New York.
Qrtr. Mr. Maj. Ludwig, going to New York.
Surgeon Maj. Bauer, killed by a Shell, Octob. 16th.

HESS. REGIMENT DE ROSE.

Major O'Reilly, going to New York.
Major Scheer, with the Regiment.
Captain Roll, wounded by a Piece of Shell, and died.
First Lieut. Schwaner, going to New York.
First Lieut. Butte, with the Regiment.
First Lieut. Hoepfner, with the Regiment.
Secd Lieut. de Netzer, going to New York.
Secd Lieut. Burghof, with the Regiment.
Ensign Runck, taken Prisoner, Octob. 14th.
Ensign de Roder, Adjut., with the Rgmt.
Ensign Brauns, going to New York.
Ensign Spangenberg, with the Regiment.

STAFF.

Surgeon Maj. Wurfelmann, wounded, at Gloucester.

YAGERS.

Captain Ewald, going to New York.
Lieut. Pickell, going to New York.
Lieut. de Bohlen, with the Detachment.
Lieut. of the Ansp. Bach, sick at Gloucester.

de Hoenning.

List of the officers of the two Regiments of Anspach taken prisoners of war the 19th of October, 1781.

REGIMENT DE VOIT:

1. Colonel de Voit, sick at Gloucester.
2. Lt. Colonel de Reitzenstein, going to Europe.

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3. Major de Teiz, going to Europe.
4. Captain de Ellrod, with the Regiment.
5. Captain de Stein, with the Regiment.
6. Captain de Tritschler, going to New York.
7. Captain de Koenitz, with the Regiment.
8. First Lieutenant de Reitzenstein, wounded at Gloucester.
9. First Lieutenant de Keller, going to New York.
10. First Lieutenant de Marshall, with the Regmt.
11. First Lieutenant de Drechsel, with the Regmt.
12. First Lieutenant de Diemar, going to New York.
13. Second Lieutenant Feder, sick at Gloucester.
14. Second Lieutenant Prechtel, with the Regmt.
15. Second Lieutenant Guttenberg, sick at Gloucester.
16. Second Lieutenant Drexel, with the Regmt.
17. Second Lieutenant Minameyer, going to New York.
18. Second Lieutenant Baumann, with the Regmt.
19. Second Lieutenant Doehlemann, going to New York.
20. Second Lieutenant de Fabris, with the Regmt.
21. Second Lieutenant Halbmeyer, with the Regmt.
22. Second Lieutenant Bayer, going to New York.

STAFF:

1. Judge-Avocat-Lieutenant Rummel, sick at York.
2. Chaplain Wagner, going with the Hospital.
3. Surgeon Rapp, with the Regmt.
4. Quarter-master Meyer, going to New York.

REGIMENT DE SEYBOTHEN:

1. Colonel de Seybothen, going to New York.
2. Major de Beust, with the Regiment.
3. Captain de Eib, going to New York.
4. Captain de Molitor, going to New York.
5. Captain de Quesnoy, with the Regmt.
6. Captain de Metsch, with the Regmt.
7. First Lieutenant de Kruse, with the Regmt.
8. First Lieutenant Seidel, going to New York.
9. First Lieutenant de Adelsheim, going to New York.
10. First Lieutenant de Reitzenstein, with the Regmt.
11. First Lieutenant de Streit, going to New York.
12. First Lieutenant de Weitershaussen, going to New York.
13. Second Lieutenant de Tunderfeldt, sick at Gloucester.
14. Second Lieutenant de Altenstein, going to New York.

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15. Second Lieutenant Weinhard, with the Regmt.
16. Second Lieutenant de Cyriaci, with the Regmt.
17. Second Lieutenant Lindemeyer, with the Regmt.
18. Second Lieutenant Hirsch, going to New York.
19. Second Lieutenant Graebner, with the Regmt.
20. Second Lieutenant de Matolai, sick at Gloucester.
21. Second Lieutenant Popp, going to New York.

STAFF:

1. Quarter-master Daig, going to New York.
2. Surgeon Schneller, going with the Hospital.

York, October 25th, 1781.

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V.

PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MILITARY ACADEMY.

1. The establishment shall consist of a military academy and a military manufactory. The direction and government of which shall be committed to a director general, the four senior officers of the establishment and two professors of the academy, who shall be called the Council of Directory.

2. The superior or inferior officers, the professors and masters of the academy shall be appointed by Congress.

3. Commissioners appointed by Congress shall yearly examine the administration of the establishment to whom the Council of Directors shall expose their accounts, and give every information respecting the establishment which may be required of them.

4. One hundred and twenty young gentlemen under the denomination of volunteer cadets shall be educated every three years, eighty of whom shall be destined for the infantry, twenty for the cavalry, and twenty for the engineers, and artillery.

5. No person shall be received as a volunteer cadet under the age of fourteen years, nor without having received what is called a grammar school education.

6. No cadet shall be obliged to enter into the army against his inclination, but shall be at liberty to choose what career he pleases.

7. Each cadet shall pay for his entertainment, clothing and instruction 300 dollars per annum.

8. If a cadet leaves the academy before his three years expire he shall be deprived of a certificate and the benefits attending one.

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9. Each cadet shall be instructed in the following sciences and arts.

Natural and experimental Philosophy.
Eloquence and the *Belles Lettres.*
Civil Law and the Law of Nations.
History and Geography.
Mathematics.
Civic Architecture.
Drawing.
French language.
Horsemanship.
Fencing.
Dancing and
Music.

Independent of the above, those cadets designed for the artillery and engineers will receive particular instruction from the officers of this corps.

10. The cadets shall live in a convenient house, they will eat at four different tables which will be decently and equally served, and at each of which an officer will preside in rotation. They will be uniformly habited and subject to the rules of the academy. Their clothing (except linen) and subsistance will be furnished by the establishment.

11. There will be five professors, for each of whom a convenient house will be constructed and land annexed sufficient for a yard and garden. They will also receive the pay and emoluments mentioned in the lists of appointments.

Professors—One of the mathematics.
One of the history and geography.
One of the law of nations and civil law.
One of natural and experimental philosophy.
One of eloquence and the *belles lettres.*

12. There will be seven masters of arts who will have con-

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venient houses and gardens with the pay and emoluments noted in the list of appointments.

Masters—One of civic architecture.
One of drawing.
One of the French language.
One of riding.
One of dancing.
One of fencing.
One of music.

The rules and statutes for the academy shall be formed by the first council of directors, or by persons named by Congress whose sanction shall be necessary to their existing as a permanent ordinance.

Congress will recommend the passing a law by which no person shall be employed as an officer in the army who has not served as an officer in the late war, or received his education at one of the military academies and can produce a certificate signed by the director general of his capacity.

The rank of each cadet will be shown by the date of his certificate, and if an army should be formed, the first class would serve as captains, the second as lieutenants and the 3d as ensigns.

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VI.

STEUBEN TO BARON DE GAUDY.

New York, 1787-'88.

Sir,—The same paper that contained the announcement of Frederick William's accession to the throne, also informed me that you were in your proper place. Sincere regret for my old master, the best wishes for his present majesty, and satisfaction at seeing your merits rewarded, were the sentiments that I experienced on receiving the news.

Permit me, sir, on this occasion to renew an acquaintance of which I am sorry to say a long lapse of time and distance have deprived me. You may have heard, perhaps, that I have thought proper to put in practice in another hemisphere the military knowledge which I acquired while I had the honor of serving you under the same colors. My success has outstripped my most sanguine expectations. The difficulties which I had to encounter were innumerable. A foreigner, ignorant of the language of the country, without resources or help—without authority, I may say—I succeeded in forming an army capable of resisting Great Britain, and the result of this Revolution has crowned my enterprise. How happy I should be could I give you as satisfactory an account of our political affairs as I can of our military successes. But I can not. As this matter is not at all within my capacity I shall content myself with the remark, that it is with real regret I see so soon tottering the edifice which I helped to build at so much labor and suffering. But I am forgetting that I am writing to a royalist who will rejoice at the bad fortune of rebels.

Notwithstanding that I have laid aside the sword for the second and probably the last time, I still amuse myself with the profession which for so many years was the object of my study.

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It is on this account that I beg you to give me a copy of the works which you have published on military matters, and thus increase my military library. Long since I have had your "Elements of Tactics" translated into English for the instruction of the officers; but M. de Holtzendorff's French translation does not do justice to the author, and he does not seem to have paid the least attention to the engraved plans. Will you have the goodness to send me the German copy, and I shall translate it more accurately for my American pupils.

You must not, however, believe that I have introduced the entire system of drill, evolutions, maneuvers, discipline, tactics, and Prussian formation into our army. I should have been pelted had I attempted it, and should inevitably have failed.

My ordinance, which was translated in Paris, is a rhapsody that I hope has never reached you; but if you have seen it by chance, I beg you not to condemn it without considering my situation.

In the first place the genius of this nation is not in the least to be compared with that of the Prussians, Austrians, or French. You say to your soldier, "Do this and he doeth it;" but I am obliged to say, "This is the reason why you ought to do that," and then he does it.

Your army is the growth of a century, mine of a day. My officers were as raw as my soldiers. This army was renewed almost after every campaign, and I considered myself too fortunate if I had my recruits four weeks before the commencement of active operations.

Judge, then, whether I could amuse myself much with the management of arms and parades. Contrary to my principles, I was forced to begin my task at the wrong end, and after executing great maneuvers with six or eight thousand men together, I have sent my generals and colonels to learn the manual exercise.

After what I have related above, you will admit that my task was not an easy one, and you will judge my ordinances indulgently. I should also tell you that besides infantry, cavalry,

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artillery, and light troops, everything belonged to my department, and my aids and assistants were all of my own creation.

In all the deviations from the Prussian ordinance that I was compelled to make, there is one that I never regretted. It is the formation of my battalions, which were numerically only half the strength of a Prussian battalion. The battalion was commanded by a lieutenant colonel or major. It was divided into two divisions; each division into two companies; the company into two platoons; the platoons into two sections; the sections into two demi-sections; the demi-sections into two squads; and the squads into two files. Two battalions formed a regiment, commanded by a colonel; two regiments a brigade, commanded by a brigadier general; two brigades a division, commanded by a major general. A battalion of light infantry, or rifles, two squadrons of dragoons, and two companies of artillery attached to this division, formed a legion. This simple formation was of infinite service to me, as well as for my maneuvers for the subdivision of detachments. You see that I did not adopt the five companies in a battalion, and that mine was already ready, each officer remaining with his company.

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VII.

THE BEST POSSIBLE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE UNITED STATES.

Sir,

It is the more immediate object of this essay to hold up to consideration what I conceive to be the best possible military establishment for the United States, but should any idea not immediately connected with this subject happen to fall from me, I flatter myself that the indulgence of the public will ascribe it not to the vanity or assurance of a political projector, but to that honest anxiety which I have ever felt for the dignity and happiness of this rising empire.

The local situation of America, which far removed from Europe and her wranglings must long continue to make a large army unnecessary, is not without its difficulties and its dangers. On the east an unguarded coast, on the west a defenseless frontier, neighbors on the one side who may cease to be friends, and savages on the other who are unalterably our enemies, this is the local situation of the United States.

The security of the former must necessarily be committed to a navy, but a navy must grow out of dock yards and arsenals and until they begin to operate, for they are a work of industry and time, our principal ports at least should be raised above the fear of injury or the dishonor of insult; the latter, the protection of our western frontiers, is a subject of perhaps more immediate importance, for upon this hangs, not only all our share of a most lucrative commerce, but what is infinitely more, the peace, prosperity and extension of our western settlements.

These objects can not be secured but by a chain of well chosen posts strongly forfeited and garrisoned. Hence therefore will arise the necessity of an established continental corps,

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for as their service will be lasting and national, their establishment of course must be federal and permanent.

To call a militia to such duty, so distant from their homes, and so much more trying to patience than to valor would be extremely embarrassing and expensive and yet infinitely short of both the wishes and expectations of government. But independently of all such arguments as may result from the nature of the service or general expense, individual embarrassment and eventual disappointment which must await every plan of performing it by a round of militia draughts—there are other and very powerfull motives to a small regular establishment.

Tho' America has been hitherto successful and tho' no immediate cloud seems to threaten the sunshine of her tranquility, yet it would be idle indeed were we to conclude from thence that she was to stand always exempted from the fortunes and the fate of other nations.

A spirit of providence is one of the strongest assurances of national wisdom and we can not do better than to lay out our accounts for some foreign war or domestic struggle, where then in either case would government look up for military talents and experience. Would she call upon the servants of the late controversy? If she did she would find many if not all of those to whom she could have most safely committed the interests of the republic, old or disabled, busy or disqualified, diffident of themselves, above the necessity of hazarding either life, reputation or ease, and totally lost to every military idea and remembrance, except the hardships and the cares.

For if we examine mankind under the impressions of property and interest, we shall find that to make any art a study, it should not only be a passion but a business.

The merchant may read Marshall Saxe and the mathematician Mons. Vauban, but it is the soldier alone who regards their lessons as the highway to honor and influence and who takes up the sword not as the hasty avenger of some sudden wrong but as a comparison for life, that will study and digest them. Must we than have a permanent army in time of peace? Most those

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hands which are to cultivate our fields and navigate our vessels be employed in the use of arms? and must the already burthen'd citizen be bowed down to the earth in supporting a class of men who are to be kept together under the bare apprehensions of a probable event.

These objections are more than plausible and can only be obviated by the number of materials which shall compose your establishment and the arrangements which may be taken concerning inlistment, reception, and muster, sources but too often of much unnecessary expenditure and the most flagrant abuse.

I would therefore propose, that the whole American army should consist of one legion of 3000 men, permanent and continental, a corps of artillerists, sappers, miners artificers and of 1000 permanent and continental also and seven legions of established militia, consisting of 3000 men each, the whole will then amount to 25000 effectives.

I shall offer some few thoughts on the legionary constitution in general and the parts and uses of this establishment in particular. Upon a review of all the military of Europe there does not appear to be a single form which could be safely adopted by the United States, they are unexceptionably different from each other and like all human institutions seem to have grown as much out of accident as design, the local situation of the country, the spirit of the government, the character of the nation, and in many instances the character of the prince, have all had their influence in determining the formation and discipline of their respective troops and render it impossible that we should take either as a model. The legion alone has not been adopted by any and yet I am bold in asserting, that whether it be examined as applicable to all countries or as it may more immediately apply to the existing or probable necessity of this, it will be found strikingly superior to any other form.

1st. Because being a compleat tho' little army in itself it is ready to begin its operations on the shortest notice or slightest alarm.

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2dly. Because having all the component parts of the largest army of any possible description, it is prepared to meet any different species of war which may present itself.

And 3rdly. Because in every case of detachment the first constitutional principle will be presented all the embarrissing business of draughting and detail which in armies differently framed too often distract the commanding officer will be avoided.

It may easily suggest itself from this sketch that in forming a legion the most difficult task is to determine the necessary proportion of each species of soldier which is to compose it. These must obviously depend upon what will be the theatre and what the stile of the war. In the plains of Poland whole brigades of cavalry would be necessary against every enemy. In the forests and among the hills of America a single regiment would be more than sufficient against any and as there are but two kinds of war to which we are much exposed, an attack from the sea side by an European power or an invasion of your back settlements by an Indian enemy, it follows of course that musketeers and light infantry should make the greatest part of your army. On these principals I would propose the following draught,— that a legion consists 1st of a legionary, a brigade and a regimental staff. 2dly of two brigades of musketeers each brigade of two regiments, each regiment of eight companies forming two battalions and each company of a captain, lieut., ensign, six sergeants, one drum, one fife, sixty privates and four supernumeraries. 3rdly of a battalion of riflemen of four companies, each company to have a captain, 3 lieutenants, six sergeants, a bugle horn and drum, sixty privates and four supernums. 4thly of a division of artillery consisting of two companies, each to have a captain, capt. lieut. and 3 lieutenants, six sergeants, twenty artificers, forty matrosses, a drum, fife and four supernumes. 5thly of a squadron of cavalry consisting of two troops, each troop to have a captain, two lieuts., a cornet, six sergeants, one farrier, one sadler, a trumpeter, sixty dragoons and four supernumers. 6thly of a train of artillery and equipage to consist of one quarter master, one cloathing and pay master, 5 conductors (sergts.), twenty artificers and seventy waggoners

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or drivers. The principal staff and regimental officers will be named by Congress, the subordinate staff by heads of departments both to be commissioned by Congress and subject to their orders alone.

The men will be inlisted for eight years and supported at the common expence of the United States, who after the expiration of their inlistments will accommodate each man with some given quantity of land.

The most exact uniformity should be established throughout all the component parts of this corps—the destinction of states should be carefully avoided and their services as well as their recompence be intirely dependent on Congress. The corps of artillery tho' not a part of the legion bears an intimate relation to it and it cannot be more properly considered than at this moment. It is not necessary however to say more upon it than that it will be under the immediate command of its own general and that the officers shall be composed of field engineers, geographers and artillerists, men who have made the military mathematics their study their obvious employment will be in designing and constructing magazines and dock yards, superintending military manufactories, surveying highways, bays, harbours, etc., etc., while the soldiers will be employed in garrisoning the ports and guarding the naval and military stores and places of deposit and the artificers in such manufactures and works as shall be alloted to them. The corps of horse may be of much service, divided into detachments it may be usefully engaged in keeping up a ready communication between the different posts and with proper arrangements will be much less expensive than expresses. But as the whole corps will not exceed 120 rank and file they may with great propriety be employed in guarding the residence of Congress, the public boards and papers etc., etc. Congress and its followers should never be exposed to the mad proceedings of a Mob. Guards are also sometimes necessary and always proper in receiving foreign ministers and upon some other occasions.

In looking back upon what I have written I am so happy as to find that much of what I had proposed to say on the uses of

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this establishment has been anticipated in the course of my introduction, I will close the sketch however with a summary view of them.

To this corps you will commit the security of your docks and arsenals, the defence of those ports which already exist and such others as may hereafter be constructed.

From them you will derive all necessary assurance concerning your dependant settlements and effectually preserve that important water communication which has fallen to you by treaty. In times of peace they will operate as a principle of discipline and formation to your established militia and in time of war become a ready barrier against the designs of avarice and the assaults of ambition and to close all, they will serve as a nursery for those talents which it must ever be your wisdom to encourage, and which in the course of fortune it may become your interest to employ.

In treating the latter part of this subject, the established militia, it may be previously necessary to take a view of your present system.

It is a flattering but I believe a mistaken idea that every citizen should be a soldier, it would be as sensible and consistent to believe that every citizen should be a sailor.

An apprenticeship must necessarily precede the acquisition of any trade and the use of arms is really a trade as shoe or boot making; were courage the only qualification required in a soldier it would be otherwise but gallantry alone leaves the character very incomplete, to this must be added youth, size, temperance and inclination, docility of temper, an adroitness in the exercises of the field and a patience under every vicissitude of fortune. Some of these are no easy lesson to a mind filled with ideas of equality and freedom and in many instances are only to be learned with industry and pains.

I have but one inference to draw from these remarks, it is this: that however gallant your militia may be (and I know them to be brave) they must necessarily want much of the true military character.

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It may now be asked what are the sources of this defect? I will venture to suggest them. A want of uniformity in their constitution in their discipline and in their arms—the inadequacy of the several laws under which they exist—the imperfect execution of those laws such as they are and the indifference with which every man must regard a business not in some degree pleasing or professional.

Thence has arisen that uncertainty of temper, that want of assurance in themselves, that reluctancy to come out, that impatience to get home, and that waste of public and destruction of private property which have ever marked an operation merely militia.

These are characteristics which can not be denied and which must be as lasting as your belief and declaration that every citizen—without exception must be a soldier, but when we add the expense of such an establishment to the probable disappointment which must follow its operations it will appear ruinous indeed.

Pennsylvania, it is said, enrolls about 60,000 men by their militia law and I suppose that in the article of expense it does not differ widely from those of the other states. These men are obliged to assemble six times in the year at some given place of rendezvous—four days of the six are employed in exercise, the remaining two in reviews. For nonattendance on reviews each delinquent pays 1 shilling per day and for nonattendance on exercise 5 shillings per day, the man who absents himself from all will pay 40 shillings per annum and he who attends all must necessarily lose six days labor while some from their distance and other circumstances will lose ten or twelve, but taking eight as an average and calculating the expense of each man at six shillings per day, it will amount to 48 shillings per man per ann. it then follows that if the whole militia should assemble six days in the year the aggregate expense will amount to 386,666 dollars per ann. If they neglect this service and pay the fines they will amount to 320,000 dollars per ann. Viewed in any point of light how imposing and vexatious must this be to the

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people, for by attendance do they promote the interest of the state, or does the individual return to his home satisfied that the information he has received as any compensation for the loss he sustains? And what is the obvious consequence of non-attendance? Are the fines a revenue to the state, a serviceable fund I mean, or can the good wishes and confidence of a people be increased by the operation of a law whose penalty they prefer to its obligation. I am convinced that under another name these impositions would not be tolerated and that an insurrection must follow.

If the annual expense of Pennsylvania be 386,000 dollars and if she be considered as an eight part of the United States our whole expense per ann. will be 3,113,328 dollars. This is her expense in the hour of peace; what it would be in war is beyond all calculation, but it may not be amiss to take a view of those obviously additional sources which must then take place.

It is, I believe, an acknowledged opinion that the expense of any corps will depend much upon its discipline. An old soldier will live upon half the allowance of a new levy, not because he has less appetite, but because he has more care and more management, the one will regard his arms and accoutrements with all the solicitude of friendship, the other with all the indifference of contempt. The veteran taught by the diseases he has felt or the observations he has made, is attentive to his own health and avoids everything which would most probably expose it. The militia man or new levy fatigued perhaps by the march of a single day, throws himself down without any regard to the place or situation and rises in the morning incapable of duty. These are facts which can not be contradicted and which hold up to your view some articles of expense which should be considered thought they can not be ascertained. There are many others of the same description, such for instance is the loss sustained by the inefficiency of convoys and the inattention of guards and such the loss in calling forth a farmer, a mechanic, or a merchant at a shilling a day; the farmer, it is true, loses less than either, but still there is no proportion between the profit

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of his farm and the wages of his sword. Under these considerations trade and agriculture cannot escape unhurt, they must feel some unkind influence foreign from their habits and unfriendly to their genius. But there is still another more pressing and calamitous, I mean the rotation service. I will illustrate my idea by a supposition: A state whose militia consists of 100,000 men is attacked, the whole can not be called forth; 10,000 may be equal to the contest but unless the war be almost instantly closed and that is not to be expected, the principal of rotation must be adopted and the first detachment is relieved by a second, the second by a third and the third by a fourth, so that in reality the state must always pay 20,000 men to have 10,000 in the field. How then, are these defects to be supplied and these abuses corrected? I answer by changing their constitution and lessening their numbers.

The militia of the United States may be calculated at 400,000; on what occasion or for what purpose shall we ever want this number. The difficulty of bringing a twentieth part of them together has been sufficiently evinced, the impossibility of instructing and what is still more, feeding them if collected, wants no proof.

Giving up then the chimerical idea of having 400,000 militia let us look for a number which may be less expense, sooner collected and more easily taught. At one period of the late war Great Britain attacked us with an army of more than 40,000 effectives. Where is the European power that can do more? We do not therefore want 400,000 men nor do we want 50,000, for as we can not be surprised, an army of 25,000 will be equal to any foreign attack or internal convulsion which may happen to exist. I would therefore propose that seven additional legions be formed from the whole militia force of the United States, to these I would give the name of established militia, their parts and construction to be exactly the same as the continental legion. To determine what proportion of this corps will fall to each state, an exact register of the numbers in each should be previously obtained, but not to stop at what is very immaterial in mere proposition I would hazard the following proportions:

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North Department	To New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut	Two Legions
Middle Department	New York, Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland	Three Legions
Southern Department	To Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia	Two Legions

It is to simplify the system and render its operation easy that I make this division into departments. The proportion of the states composing each may be easily determined. The smaller will give companies and the larger battalions until the several legions are complete.

In the appointment of officers the method pursued in Germany and the Swiss cantons should be adopted. Each government appoints the officers necessary for its own contingent of troops.

If a German prince or a swiss canton sends a company only, they appoint no officer higher than a captain, if a battalion a lieutenant colonel, if a regiment a colonel, if two regiments a brigadier and if two brigades a major general. In instances where neither the prince nor canton sends a sufficient number to give these higher ranks the superior officers are called from the circle which has furnished the largest contingent. These officers remain absolutely subject to the state, which has sent them and are dismissed with the same formality with which they have been appointed. For instance if a court martial should sentence to disgrace a major who belongs to a canton which only furnishes a company, the approbation or disapprobation belongs to the canton or prince who furnishes the greatest part of the regiment. If a colonel or brigadier belongs to a prince or canton

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who has furnished only a battalion or regiment should be tried by a court martial the sentence is invalid without the approbation of the Grand Diet of the Empire.

Officers of whatever rank will receive pay for those days only which they actually employ in the service of the public. They will have a right to resign their places after each yearly review but while they hold their commissions they will be subject to whatever ordinance may be given by government.

This ordinance will regulate the pay and emoluments of each grade, determine the uniformity of the discipline, arms and accoutrements and the duties of the service in general. With regard to the men the following regulations should take place:

1st. That the first class be engaged for three different periods, one-third for two years, one-third for three, and one-third for four; this is in a company of 72 men 24 will be engaged for two years, 24 for three and 24 for four.

2nd. That, after the expiration of the time of the two years men, the same number shall be replaced by recruits inlisted for three years and that all the subsequent engagements shall be for no less term than this. By this arrangement when the times of one-third of a corps expire a like number will be enlisted, this will prevent a total expiration and there will always be two-thirds disciplined soldiers to one-third recruits.

3rd. That none but citizens be received.

4th. That their age be neither less than 18 nor more than 24.

5th. That each man be well formed and at least 5 feet 6 inches high.

6th. That both negroes and mulattos be excluded.

The best way of engaging men is in my opinion by bounty. The expense will not be great and the inconveniency and ill-humor which must attend draughting be avoided.

The bounty need not exceed ten dollars per man. To this must be added for the whole term of service, a hat, coat, vest, pair of overalls, pair of shoes, and a stock to each, and at the expiration of his service his arms and accoutrements with such

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other honorary present as government may think proper to make, should be given him.

The whole annual expense will not exceed fifteen dollars per man and for this he subjects himself to military law thirty-one days in the year, twelve of which should be employed in exercising in detail, twelve in learning the evolutions and maneuvers and seven in reviews.

The time for these exercises must depend upon the season of the year and the place upon the population of the state, etc., but it were to be wished that at each rendezvous of inspection one legion complete might be assembled and that on every third year all the troops of the department would encamp together.

The soldier and the state will come under this further obligation to each other that each month's service (exclusive of the time taken up in repairing to the rendezvous for which he will receive a certain stipulated allowance) shall count for a year but should an invasion or any other cause make it necessary for government to call him out he shall be obliged to repair to the place appointed on the shortest notice and to serve any length of time not exceeding one year, which government may deem expedient for this time, he shall receive the pay and emoluments annexed to a war establishment. By such an arrangement I dare assure to the United States an army as useful and reputable as that of any republic in Europe and as to its expense I will venture again to advance that it will not cost more than one-third of the sum which is now expended; and this may be levied upon every man who falls under the present system and will not rise above 12 shilling 6 pence a year per man.* Should it be objected that the scale upon which I have gone is too small the proportion of each state may be increased without breaking in

*NOTE:—As I have in a former instance made the militia establishment of Pennsylvania a subject of calculation it may not be improper to say what would be the expense of that commonwealth under the operation of the system I propose. For the support of her share of a board of war and inspection the continental legion corps of artillerists and others, her share of the expence will be 65,000 dollars and for her proportion of the seven militia legions 35,000 the whole annual expense then will amount to 100,000 dollars—how striking is this difference.

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upon the principals of formation or should the finances of any particular state permit, and her politics require another corps it may be raised upon the same plan. The contingent of the elector of Brandenburg if I mistake not is 6,000 men. He can not keep less but as king of Prussia he keeps up 114,000. Much of what has been said of the uses of the federal legion may be applied to these militia corps like that in peace they will be a most excellent school for the instruction of the young and in war present a safe and immediate guard or barrier behind which government may take its further measures of defense with confidence and ease. I have now filled up the limits which I have prescribed for myself upon this occasion and cannot but hope that a plan so clearly efficient as well as economical will not fail to secure the attention at least of your honorable body. I foresee, however, that it will be subject to one very popular objection—it is in fact a standing army. Yes, sir, I admit it, it is a standing army composed of your brothers and your sons. Can Congress conceive or can their constituents require a better security—are they not your natural guardians and can it be supposed that the cockade and feather the vox et preterea nitril—of the military character can alienate either their affections or their interest.

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VIII.

A LETTER ON THE SUBJECT OF AN ESTABLISHED MILITIA, AND MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS, ADDRESSED TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY BARON DE STEUBEN.

Friends and Fellow Citizens,

It is the duty of every member of the community, particularly in a Republic, to be attentive to its welfare, and to exert himself to contribute to its prosperity. Under the influence of this idea permit me to engage your attention, on a subject of the utmost importance to every country, but more particularly to one having so recently emerged from the waves of despotism, and now taking her station amongst the nations, on the broad basis of liberty and independence. I have risked my fortune in the general scale, and hazarded my life for the attainment of the inestimable blessings of liberty, for which you have bravely fought, bled, and conquered. I acknowledge myself interested for your happiness and cannot be silent.

Having spent the greatest part of my life in military pursuits, I feel a confidence in my subject; and thinking it by no means probable that I shall ever engage on the busy theatre of life again, having no personal views to answer by the operation of the system, I shall write with freedom, confident that if any idea not immediately connected with the subject should fall from my pen, it will be ascribed not to the vanity or assurance of a political projector, but to that honest anxiety which I have ever felt for the dignity and happiness of this rising empire.

The immediate object of my address is to hold up to your calm consideration what I conceive to be the best possible military establishment for the United States. Be not alarmed fellow

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citizens at the expression; for no country ever risked their political existence without one that did not fall a prey to the avarice or ambition of her neighbors. Though America has hitherto been successful, and though no immediate cloud seems to threaten the sunshine of her tranquility, yet it would be idle indeed were we to conclude from thence that she was always to stand exempted from the fortunes and fate of other nations.

The local situation of America, happily removed from Europe and her wranglings, must long continue to make a large army unnecessary—it is not however without its difficulties and its dangers.

On the east an unguarded coast, and a dangerous and formidable colony planted. On the west a defenseless frontier. Neighbors on the one side who may never be friends; and savages on the other who are unalterably your enemies. This is your local situation. The security of the former must necessarily be committed in a great measure to a navy; but a navy can only grow out of dockyards and arsenals, and the well regulated commerce of your country; and until they begin to operate, for they are the products of industry and time. Your principal ports at least should be raised superior to the fear of injury, or the dishonor of insult.

The latter, *viz.* the protection of your western frontier, is a subject of perhaps more immediate importance; for upon this rests not only your share of a most lucrative commerce, but closely connects with it the peace, prosperity, and extensions of your western settlements. These objects are not to be secured but by a chain of well chosen posts, strongly fortified and respectably garrisoned. Hence arises the necessity of an established continental corps; and as their services will be lasting and national, their establishment ought to be federal and permanent.

To draught a militia for such duty, so distant from their homes, and so much more trying to patience than to valor, would be extremely embarrassing and expensive, and fall infinitely short of both the wishes and expectations of government. But independent of arguments resulting from the nature of the

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service or general expense, individual embarrassments or eventual disappointments, which must avail every plan for performing it by militia draughts—there are other and very powerful motives for a small regular establishment.

A spirit of Providence is one of the strongest assurances of national wisdom, and it may not be improper to lay out your accounts for foreign war or domestic struggle. Where, in an exigency of this kind, without an establishment, would government look up for military talents and experience? Would she call upon her servants who have been engaged in the late controversy? If she did she should find many, if not all of those to whom she could most safely have committed the interest of the republic, old or disabled—busy or dissatisfied—diffident of themselves—superior to the necessity of hazarding either life, reputation, or ease; and totally lost to every military idea and remembrance, except the hardships and the cares. If we examine mankind under the impressions of property and interest, we will find that to make any art a study it should not only be a passion but a business. The merchant may read Marshall Saxe, the Mathematician Monsieur Vauban, but it is the soldier alone who regards their lessons and takes up the sword; not as the hasty avenger of a sudden wrong, but as his companion for life, that will study and digest them.

I am conscious in the opinion of many I am undertaking a difficult task in attempting to convince a free people, who have established their liberties by the unparalleled exercise of their virtues, that a permanent military establishment is necessary to their happiness, absolutely so to their federal existence. I shall not in this essay address your passions, but I shall appeal forcibly to your reason. I shall convince you by the statement of a regular and exact calculation, that your present system of militia draughts recommended by Congress, is not only impracticable in itself, and replete with every inconvenience that can shackle military movements, but it takes a double proportion of every necessary to collect and station them, and more than double the sum to support your frontier in this mode, than by a small regu-

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lar establishment. Every objection to this system the operations of simple reasoning will fully obviate, by attending to the numbers and materials that shall compose your establishment, and the arrangement that may be made concerning enlistment, reception and muster, sources but too often of much unnecessary expenditure, and of the most flagrant abuse.

Upon a review of all the military of Europe, there does not appear to be a single form which could be safely adopted by the United States; they are unexceptionably different from each other, and like all other human institutions, seem to have started as much out of accident as design. The local situation of the country; the spirit of the government; the character of the nation, and in many instances the character of the prince, have all had their influence in settling the foundation and discipline of their respective troops, and render it impossible that we should take either as a model. The legion alone has not been adopted by any, and yet I am confident in asserting, that whether it be examined as applicable to all countries, or as it may more immediately apply to the existing or probable necessity of this, it will be found strikingly superior to any other. 1st.—Being a complete and little army of itself, it is ready to begin its operations on the shortest notice or slightest alarm. 2nd.—Having all the component parts of the largest army of any possible description, it is prepared to meet every species of war that may present itself. And, 3rd.—As in every case of detachment the first constitutional principle will be preserved, and the embarassments of draughting and detail, which in armies differently framed too often distract the commanding officer, will be avoided.

It may easily suggest itself from this sketch, that in forming a legion the most difficult task is to determine the necessary proportion of each species of soldiers which is to compose it; this must obviously depend upon what will be the theatre, and what the style of the war. On the plains of Poland, whole brigades of cavalry would be necessary against every enemy—but in the forest and among the hills of America, a single regiment would be more than sufficient against any, and as there are but two

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kinds of war to which we are much exposed, *viz.* An attack from the sea side by an European power, aided by our sworn enemies settled on our extreme left, and an invasion of our back settlements by an Indian enemy; it follows of course that musketeers and light infantry should make the greatest part of our army; on these principles I should propose the following draught. That a legion consist, 1st.—Of a legionary brigade and regimental staff. 2nd.—Of two brigades of musketeers, each brigade of two regiments, each regiment of eight companies forming two battalions, each company of a captain, lieutenant, ensign, six sergeants, one drum, one fife, sixty privates, and four supernumeraries. 3rd.—Of a battalion of riflemen of four companies, each company to have a captain, three lieutenants, six sergeants, a bugle-horn and drum, sixty privates, and four supernumeraries. 4th.—A division of field artillery consisting of two companies, each to have a captain, captain-lieutenant, three lieutenants, six sergeants, twenty artificers, forty matrosses, drum, fife, and four supernumeraries. 5th.—A squadron of cavalry consisting of two troops, each troop to have a captain, two lieutenants, a cornet, six sergeants, one farrier, one saddler, one trumpeter, sixty dragoons, and four supernumeraries. 6th.—Of a train of artillery and equipage, to consist of one quartermaster, one clothing and paymaster, five conductors, twenty artificers, and seventy waggoners and drivers.

The principal staff and regimental staff officers, will be named by Congress — the subordinate staff by heads of departments — both to be commissioned by Congress, and subject to their orders alone. The men will be enlisted for eight years, and supported at the common expense of the United States, who after the expiration of their enlistment will accommodate each man with a given quantity of land. The most exact uniformity should be established throughout the component parts of this corps. The distinction of states should be carefully avoided, and their service as well as their recompense be entirely dependent upon Congress. The corps of artillery, though not a part of the legion (excepting the field artillery), bears an im-

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mediate relation to it, and it cannot be more properly considered than at this moment. It is not necessary to say more upon it, than, that it shall be under the immediate command of its own general, and that the subordinate officers shall be composed of field engineers, geographers, and artillerists, men who have and will make military mathematics their study. Their obvious employment will be designing and constructing magazines and dockyards, superintending military manufactures, surveying highways, bays, harbors, etc., while the soldiers will be employed in garrisoning the forts, and guarding the naval and military stores and places of deposit, and artificers in such manufactures and works as shall be added to them. The corps of horse may be of much service; divided into detachments it may be usefully engaged in keeping up a ready communication between the different posts, and with proper arrangements will be much less expensive than expresses. But as the whole corps will not exceed one hundred and twenty, rank and file, they may with great propriety be employed in guarding the residence of Congress, the public offices, papers, etc. Congress and their executive officers should never be exposed to the mad proceedings of a mob. Guards are necessary, and always proper at the seat of government.

In looking back upon what I have written, I am so happy as to find that much of what I had proposed to say on the uses of this establishment, has been anticipated in the course of my introduction; I will close the sketch however with this summary view of them. The American army at present should consist of neither more nor less than one complete legion of 3,000 men permanent and colonial; a corps of artillery, sappers, miners, artificers, etc., of 1,000 permanent and continental also; and seven legions of well disciplined militia of 3,000 men each, subject to the call of their country, and ready to act on the shortest notice. Agreeable to this your standing force in time of peace will be but 4,000 men, and your effective force in case of invasion 25,000 well disciplined troops.

To your established corps you will commit the security of your docks and arsenals—the defence of those forts which al-

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ready exists, and such others as may hereafter be constructed. From them you will derive all necessary assurance relative to your dependent settlements, and effectually preserve that important water communication which has fallen to you by treaty. In times of peace they will operate as a principle of discipline and formation to your established militia, and in those of war become a ready barrier against the designs of avarice and the assaults of ambition; and finally, they will serve as a nursery to those talents which it must ever be your wisdom to encourage, and which in the course of fortune it may become your interest to employ.

In treating the latter part of this subject, *viz.* the established militia, it may be previously necessary to take a view of your present system. It is a flattering but I believe a mistaken idea—that every citizen should be a soldier. It would be as sensible and consistent to say every citizen should be a soldier. An apprenticeship must necessarily precede the acquisition of any trade, and the use of arms is as really a trade as shoe or boot making. Were courage the only qualification requisite in a soldier, it would be otherwise, but gallantry alone leaves the character very incomplete; to this must be added youth, size, temperance and inclination; docility of temper, and adroitness in the exercise of the field, and a patience under every vicissitude of fortune. Some of these are no easy lesson to a mind filled with ideas of equality and freedom; and in many instances are only to be learned with industry and pains. I have but one inference to draw from these remarks (*i. e.*) that however gallant your militia may be (and I know them to be brave) they must necessarily want much of the true military character. It may now be asked what are the sources of this defect? I will venture to suggest them; a want of uniformity in their discipline and in their arms—the inadequacy of the several laws under which they exist—the imperfect execution of those laws, such as they are—and the indifference with which every man must regard a business not in some degree pleasing or proficient. Hence has arisen that uncertainty of temper—that want of confidence in themselves—

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that reluctancy to come out—that impatience to get home—and that waste of public and destruction of private property, which has ever marked an operation merely militia.

These are characteristics that cannot be denied, and which must be as lasting as your belief and declaration, "That every citizen without exception, must be a soldier." But when we add the expense of such establishment to the probable disappointment which must follow its operations, it will appear ruinous indeed.

Pennsylvania, it is said, enrolls by its militia law, about sixty thousand men—and I suppose, that in the article of expense it does not differ widely from those of the other states; these men are obliged to assemble six times in a year at some given place of rendezvous; four days of the six are employed in exercise and two in reviews.

For non-attendance on reviews, each delinquent pays ten shillings per day, and for non-attendance upon exercise five shillings per day;—therefore the man who absents himself from all will pay forty shillings per annum, and he who attends all must necessarily lose six days labor, while some, from their distance from the place of rendezvous, will lose ten or twelve. But taking eight as an average, and calculating the expense of each man at six shillings per day, it will amount to forty-eight shillings per man per annum; it then follows, that if the whole militia should assemble six days in the year, the aggregate expense will amount to 386,666 dollars per annum—if on the other hand they neglect this service and pay the fines, they will amount to 320,000 dollars per annum: View it in any light, how imposing and vexatious must this be to the people—for by attendance do they promote the interest of the state? Or does the individual return to his home satisfied, that the information and instruction he has received is any compensation for the loss he sustains? And what is the obvious consequence of non-attendance? Are the fines a revenue to the state, a serviceable one I mean; or can the good wishes or confidence of a people be increased by the operation of a law, whose penalty they prefer to its obligation?

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I am convinced that under another name these impositions would not be tolerated, and that an insurrection would follow the exercise of them.

If the annual expense of Pennsylvania for training her militia be 386,666 dollars, and if we consider her as an eighth part of the United States, the aggregate expense of the United States in times of perfect peace, for the instruction of men to whom she cannot risk her fate in war, will be annually 3,113,328 dollars, what it would be in war is beyond all calculation, but it may not be amiss to take a view of the obviously additional sources which must then take place. It is I believe an acknowledged fact, that the expense of any corps will depend much upon its discipline. An old soldier will live upon half the allowance of a new levy—not because he has less appetite, but because he has more care and more management. The one will regard his arms and accoutrements with all the solicitude of friendship; the other with all the indifference of contempt. The veteran, taught by the diseases he has felt or the observations he has made, is attentive to his health, and though attentive to his duty avoids every thing which would most probably expose it—the militiaman, or new levy, fatigued and disheartened perhaps by the march of a single day, and measuring the tedious hours of his enlistment, throws himself down without any regard to the place or situation; rises in the morning reluctant and languid, and perhaps for want of attention to himself incapable of performing his duty. There are facts which cannot be contradicted, and which hold up to your view some articles of expense, which should be considered, though they cannot be ascertained.

There are many other of the same description; such for instance is the loss sustained by the inefficiency of convoys and the inattention of guards, and such the loss in calling forth a farmer, a mechanic, or a merchant at a shilling a day; the farmer it is true loses less than either, but still there is no proportion between the profits of his farm and the wages of his sword. Under these considerations trade and agriculture cannot remain unhurt, they must feel some unkind influence foreign to their

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habits, and unfriendly to their genius. But there is still another more pressing and calamitous: I mean the rotation service. For example: A state whose militia consists of 100,000 men is invaded, the whole cannot be called forth—10,000 may be equal to the contest—but unless the war be almost instantly closed, and that is not to be expected, the principle of rotation must be adopted, and the first detachment is relieved by a second, the second by a third, and the third by a fourth, so that in reality the state must a very large proportion of the time pay and feed 20,000 men, to have 10,000 in the field. How then are these defects to be supplied? I answer by changing their constitution, and lessening their number. The militia of the United States may be calculated at 400,000 men, on what occasion, or for what purpose, shall we ever want this number; the difficulty of bringing a twentieth part of them together has been sufficiently evinced; the impossibility of instructing, and what is still more of feeding them if collected, wants no proof. Giving up therefore the chimerical idea of having 400,000 militia, and that every citizen is a soldier, let us look for a number that will be less expensive, sooner collected, and more easily taught, those lessons necessary for a soldier to know.

At one period of the late war, Great Britain attacked us with an army of more than 40,000 effectives; where is the European power that can do more. We cannot therefore want 400,000 men, nor do we want 50,000; for as we cannot be surprised, an army of 25,000 will be equal to any foreign attack, or internal convulsion, that may happen to exist. I would therefore repeat my proposal, that in addition to the established continental legion, that seven legions be formed from the whole militia force of the United States;—call them the established militia, and let their composition and construction be exactly the same with your continental legion.

To determine what proportion of this corps will fall to each state, an exact register of the numbers in each should be previously obtained; but not to stop at what is very immaterial in mere proportion, I would hazard the following:

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North Department	To New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut,	Two Legions
Middle Department,	To New York, Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland,	Three **Legions**
Southern Department,	To Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,	Two **Legions.**

It is to simplify the system, and to render its operations easy, that I make this division into departments; the proportion of the states composing each may be easily determined—the smaller will give companies the larger battalions until the several legions are complete. In the appointment of officers for the established militia, I think the following method should be pursued: Each state appoints the officers necessary for its own contingent of troops. If either send a company only, they send no officer higher than a captain; if a battalion, a lieutenant-colonel and major; if a regiment, a colonel; if two regiments, a brigadier; and if two brigades, a major-general. In instances where neither state sends a sufficient number to give these higher ranks, the superior officers are called from the district which has furnished the largest contingent.

These officers remain absolutely subject to the state which has sent them, and are dismissed with the same formality with which they have been appointed. For instance: If a court-martial should sentence to disgrace a major, who belongs to a state which only furnishes a company, the approbation or disapprobation belongs to the supreme of that state which furnishes the largest part of the regiment. If a colonel or brigadier belonging to a state which has furnished only a battalion or regi-

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ment, should be tried by a court-martial, the sentence is invalid without the approbation of the grand convention of the empire.

Officers of whatever rank will receive pay only for those days which they actually spend in the service of the public; they will have a right to resign their places after each yearly review, but while they hold their commissions, they will be subject to whatever ordinance may be issued by government. This ordinance will regulate the pay and emoluments of each grade; determine the uniformity of the discipline, arms, and accoutrements, and the duties of the service in general. With regard to the men the following regulations should take place:

I. That the first class be engaged for three different periods; one-third for two years; one-third for three, and one-third for four; that is, in a company of seventy-two men, twenty-four will be engaged for two years; twenty-four for three years, and twenty-four for four years.

II. That after the expiration of the time of the two years men, their places shall be supplied by another enlistment of the same number of men for three years, and that all subsequent engagements shall be for no less time than this. By this arrangement when the times of one-third of a corps expire, a like number will be enlisted; this will prevent a total expiration, and there will be always two-thirds disciplined troops to one-third recruits.

III. That none but citizens be received.

IV. That their age be not less than eighteen, nor more than twenty-four.

V. That each man be well formed and at least five feet six inches high, and

VI. That both negroes and mulattoes be excluded.

The best method of engaging men in service is by bounty; the experience will not be great, and the inconveniency and ill-humor which attends draughting be avoided. The bounty need not exceed ten dollars per man; to this must be added for the whole term of service, a hat, coat, vest, pair of overalls, pair of

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shoes, and a stock; and at the expiration of his service, provided he has not been capitally censured, his arms and accoutrements should be given to him. In the operation of this system, at the expiration of every third year 7,000 well disciplined men, with their arms and accoutrements, will be added to the effective force of the United States, and the best possible magazine for a republic firmly established, (*viz.*) arms and accoutrements in the course of a few years be put into the hands of every member of the community, and a perfect knowledge of the duties of a soldier engraved on the mind of every citizen. This will secure you a respectable station amongst the powers of Europe; and if not ensure you a perfect peace, at least furnish you with the ability of checking the ardour of any power that may be hardy enough to attack you.

The whole annual expense of this establishment will not exceed fifteen dollars per man per annum, and for this he subjects himself to military discipline thirty-one days in a year, twelve of which he will be employed in exercise, in detail, and twelve in learning the evolutions and maneuvers, and seven in review.

The time for these exercises must depend upon the season of year and the place; upon the population of the state, etc., but it were to be wished that at each rendezvous of inspection, one legion complete might be assembled, and that on every third year all the troops of the department would encamp together.

The soldier and the state must come under this further obligation to each other, that each month's service (exclusive of the time taken up in repairing to the rendezvous for which he will receive a certain stipulated allowance) shall count for a year; but should an invasion or any other cause make it necessary for government to call him out, he shall be obliged to repair to the place appointed on the shortest notice, and to serve any length of time not exceeding one year, which government may deem expedient. For this time he shall receive the pay and emoluments annexed to a war establishment. By such an arrangement, I dare assure to the United States, an army as useful and as respectable as that of any republic in Europe; and as to

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its expense, I will venture again to advance, that it will not cost more than one-third of the sum which is now expended; and this may be levied upon every man who falls under the present system, and will not demand from him but twelve shillings and six pence per annum, in lieu of forty, which simply considered is evidently more eligible; but when viewed as a discharge from the irksome routine of militia duty, I cannot but suppose but it must be embraced with ardour by every individual at present enrolled in the militia.

As I have in a former instance made the militia establishment of Pennsylvania a subject of calculation, it may not be improper to say what would be the expense of that commonwealth, under the operation of the system proposed. For the support of her share of a board of war and inspection—the continental legion—corps of artillerists and others—her share of the expense will be 65,000 dollars, and for her proportion of the seven militia legions 35,000 dollars, the whole annual expense then will amount to 10,000 dollars, and consequently she must save yearly 286,666 dollars—how striking is this difference.

Should it be objected that the scale upon which I have gone is too small, the proportion of each state may be increased without breaking in upon the principles of formation, or should the finances of any state permit, or her politics require another corps, it may be raised upon the same plan.

Much of what has been said on the uses of the federal legion may be applied to the militia corps, like that in peace they will be a most excellent school for the instruction of the young, and in war present an immediate guard or barrier, behind which government may take its further measures of defense with confidence and ease; and if necessary in war, the rank and file of your army may be doubled, and the list of your officers remain the same; for being perfectly trained in the military schools, which the operation of this plan will establish, I should without hesitation pledge myself for their abilities in their professions.

Having now filled up the limits which I had prescribed for myself upon this occasion, I cannot but hope a plan so clearly

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efficient, as well as economical will not fail to secure the attention of the United States.

I foresee, however, it will be subject to one very popular objection, "It is in fact a standing army." Yes fellow citizens I admit it—it is a standing army, but composed of your brothers and your sons. Can you require or conceive a better security? Are they not your natural guardians? And shall it be supposed a cockade and feather, the *Vox et preteria nibil,* of the military character can alienate either their affections or their interest? Be assured you reflect upon yourselves by nourishing the suspicion, and wound the feelings of men who at least are entitled to your gratitude and esteem.

STEUBEN.

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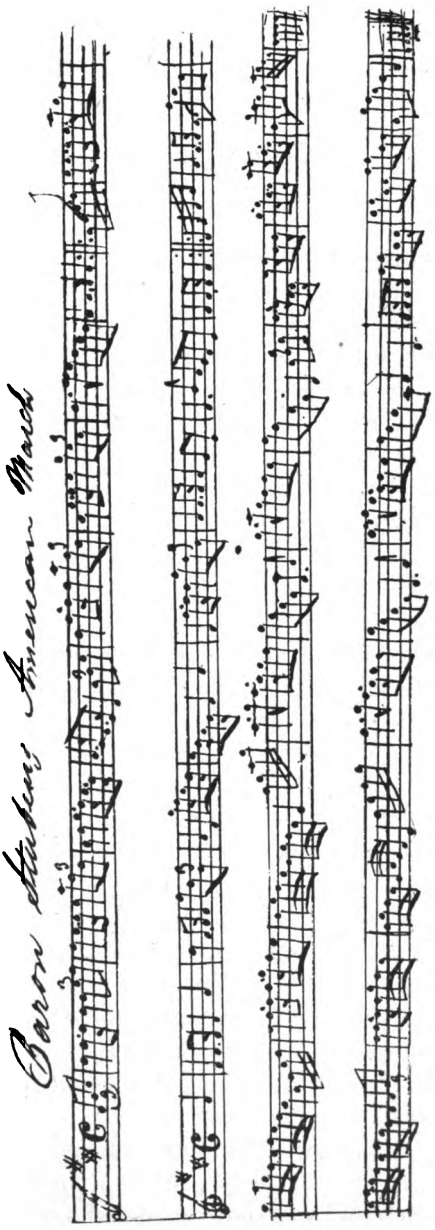

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Conrad Weiser

By Julius Goebel

Next to Baron von Steuben the most distinguished German of the 18th Century to render this country invaluable political services, was, without question, Conrad Weiser. And, as in the case of Steuben, it has taken two centuries for these services to receive proper recognition by the American nation.

Conrad Weiser came to America as a boy of about 13 years when his father, Johann Conrad Weiser, having lost his wife, decided to join the thousands of refugees from the Palatinate and the neighboring Rhenish districts who, in 1709, were flocking to England to escape the religious persecutions and the wretched economic conditions at home, caused by the French devastations of the Palatinate and the war of the Spanish succession.

What attracted these thousands to England seems to have been the fact that English agents, as a parliamentary investigation afterwards brought out, had secretly encouraged a Lutheran clergyman from the famine-stricken Palatinate, Josua Kocherthal by name, to go to London for help and support and that Queen Anne had generously assisted him. While in London Kocherthal wrote a booklet in which he praised the advantages of the Colony of South Carolina as a possible refuge for his impoverished countrymen. This booklet was called the "Golden Book" because on its front pages it showed a picture of Queen Anne in gold leaf printing. We learn from emigrant letters, printed in Vol. XII of this year book, that the "Golden Book" was distributed by English agents in the remotest hamlets of the countries along the Rhine, thus awakening the hope for betterment and desire for immigration.

Kocherthal, returning to Germany, applied in January, 1708, to the English agent at Frankfort on the Main for passports and money for himself and sixty-one persons who were to accompany

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him to England and eventually to America. This was granted him and the prospective settlers, but on their arrival in London it was found that they were too poor to live without financial help and it was then that the Queen allowed each person a shilling a day, until the Lords of Trade decided to send them to the colony of New York, where they were assigned land in the vicinity of the present city of Newburgh on the Hudson.

The report of the generous treatment which Kocherthal and his settlers had been accorded in London must have spread like wildfire, for by October, 1709, some 13,000 German refugees, men, women and children, had arrived in London. While there can be no question that England was eager to obtain German Protestants as settlers for her American colonies and had secretly encouraged their emigration, the sudden arrival of these masses of foreign people in London created a serious problem which finally led to a highly interesting parliamentary investigation during which it was claimed that by giving protection to German Protestants England was only paying back the debt she owed for the protection which German cities granted to fugitive English Protestants during the reign of Mary.

Meanwhile the thousands of German refugees, most of whom had been reduced to absolute pauperism, had to be housed and fed, and again it was then that Queen Anne proved her generous heart by allowing each person six pence a day for their sustenance.

Among the thousands of refugees we also find Johann Conrad Weiser with his eight minor children waiting to be transported across the ocean. We have no personal record of the sufferings and the privations endured by them, both in London and on their journey to New York, but fortunately a short autobiographical sketch, written by Conrad Weiser toward the close of his life, has come down to us which gives us a clear insight into the early years of his development, and contains besides interesting glimpses of early pioneer life in New York and Pennsylvania, with which Weiser's life is closely interwoven.

The autobiographical sketch reads in part as follows:

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"On November 2, 1696, I, Conrad Weiser, was born in Europe, in the land of Württemberg, in the County (Amt) of Herrenberg; the village is called Astäst, and I was christened at Kupingen, nearby, as my father has informed me. I say, I was born on November 2, 1696. My father's name was Johann Conrad Weiser. My mother's name was Anna Magdalena, her family name was Uebele. My grandfather was Jacob Weiser, my great-grandfather, also Jacob Weiser. He was village-mayor (Schultheiss) in the village of Great Aspach also in the land of Württemberg. In this latter village my ancestors from time immemorial were born and are buried there, as well on my father's as my mother's side. In 1709, my mother passed into eternity, on the last day of May, in the 43rd year of her age, leaving eight children and was buried there by the side of my ancestors. She was a God-fearing woman and much beloved by her neighbors. Her motto was: 'Jesus Christ, I live for Thee, I die for Thee, Thine am I in life and death.'

"In the year above mentioned, namely, in 1709, my father moved away from Great Aspach on June 24, and took eight children with him. My eldest sister, Cathrina, remained there with her husband, Conrad Boss, with whom she had two children. My father sold them his house, fields, meadows, vineyard and garden, but they could only pay him seventy-five Gulden, the remainder, 600 Gulden, was to be paid to my father later, which was never done, so it was made a present to them. In about two months we reached London, England, along with several thousand Germans, whom Queen Anne, of glorious memory, had taken in charge, and was furnishing with food. About Christmas Day we embarked, and ten shiploads, with about 4,000 souls, were sent to America.

"On June 13, 1710, we came to anchor at New York in North America, and in the same autumn were taken to Livingstone's Manor at the expense of the queen. Here in Livingstone's, or as it was called by the Germans, Loewenstein's Manor, we were to burn tar, and cultivate hemp, to repay the expenses incurred by the queen in bringing us from Holland to England and from England to New York. We were directed by several commis-

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sioners, viz.: John Cost, Henry Meyer, Richard Seykott, who were put in authority over us by Robert Hunter, governor of New York. But neither object succeeded, and in 1713 the people were discharged from their engagements and declared free. Then the people scattered themselves over the whole province of New York. Many remained where they were. About 150 families determined to remove to Schohary (a place about 40 English miles to the West of Albany). They therefore, sent deputies to the land of the Maguas to consult with Indians about it, who allowed them to occupy Schohary. For the Indian deputies who were in England at the time the German people were lying in tents on the Blackmoor, had made a present to Queen Anne of Schohary, that she might settle these (German) people upon it. Indian guides were sent to show the Germans where Schohary was. My father was the first of the German deputies.

"In November, 1713, when the above mentioned deputies had returned from the Maqua country to Livingstone's Manor, the people moved the same autumn to Albany and Schenectady, so as to be able to move in the spring to Schohary. Bread was dear, but the people worked very hard for a living, and the old settlers were very kind and did much good to the Germans, although some of a different disposition were not wanting. My father reached Schenectady the same fall, where he remained with his family over winter, with a man named John Meyndert.

"A chief of the Maqua nation named Quaynant visited my father, and they agreed that I should go with Quaynant into his country to learn the Maqua language. I accompanied him and reached the Maqua country in the latter end of November, and lived with the Indians. Here I suffered much from the excessive cold, for I was but badly clothed; and towards spring also from hunger, for the Indians had nothing to eat. A bushel of Indian corn was worth five to six shillings. And at this period the Indians, when drunk, were so barbarous, that I was frequently obliged to hide from drunken Indians.

"In the spring of 1714 my father removed from Schenectady to Schohary, with about 150 families in great poverty. One bor-

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rowed a horse here, another there, also a cow and plow-harness. With these things they united and broke up jointly so much land that they raised nearly enough corn for their own consumption the following year. But this year they suffered much from hunger, and made many meals on the wild potatoes and ground beans, which grew in great abundance in that place. The Indians called the potatoes ochma-nada, the ground beans otach-ragara. When we wished for meal we had to travel 35 to 40 miles to get it, and had then to borrow it on credit. They would get a bushel of wheat here, a couple at another place, and were often absent from home three or four days before they could reach their suffering wives and children, crying for bread.

"The people had settled in villages of which there were seven. The first and nearest Schenectady was called Kneskern-dorf; second, Gerlacho-dorf; third, Fuchsen-dorf; fourth, Hans George Schmidts-dorf; fifth, Weisers-dorf, or Brunnen-dorf; sixth, Hartmans-dorf; seventh, Ober Weisers-dorf. So named after the deputies who were sent from Livingstone's Manor to the Maqua country.

"Towards the end of July I returned from among the Indians to my father, and had made considerable progress or had learned the greater part of the Maqua language. An English mile from my father's house there lived several Maqua families, and there were always Maquas among us hunting, so that there was always something for me to do in interpreting, but without pay. There was no one else to be found among our people who understood the language, so that I gradually became completely master of the language, so far as my years and other circumstances permitted.

"Here now this people lived peaceably for several years without preachers or magistrates. Each one did as he thought proper. About this time I became very sick and expected to die, and was willing to die, for my stepmother was indeed a stepmother to me. By her influence my father treated me very harshly. I had no other friend and had to bear hunger and cold. I often thought of running away, but the sickness men-

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tioned put a bit in my mouth; I was bound as if by a rope to remain with my father and obey him.

"I have already mentioned that my father was a widower when he left Germany and landed in 1710 with eight children in New York, where my two brothers, George Frederick and Christopher, were bound by the governor, with my then sick father's consent, over to Long Island. The following winter my youngest brother, John Frederick, died in the sixth year of his age, and was buried in Livingstone's bush, as the expression then was, and was the first one buried where now the Reformed Church in Weisersdorf stands.

"In the year 1711 my father married my stepmother, whom I have mentioned above. It was an unhappy match and was the cause of my brothers and sisters all becoming scattered. At last I was the only one left at home, except the three children he had by my stepmother, viz.: John Frederick, Jacob and Rebecca. Everything went crab fashion, one misfortune after another happened to our family, of which I always was partaker. I frequently did not know where to turn and learned to pray to God, and His word became my most agreeable reading.

"But to return to Schohary. The people had taken possession without informing the governor of New York, who, after letting them know his dissatisfaction, sold the land to seven rich merchants, four of whom lived in Albany; the other three in New York. The names of those in Albany were Myndert Shyller, John Shyller, Robert Livingstone and Peter Van Brygess; of those of New York, were George Clark, at that time secretary; Dr. Stadts and Rip Van Dam. Upon this a great uproar arose in Schohary and Albany, because many people wished the poor people to retain their lands. The people of Schohary divided into two parties; the strongest did not wish to obey, but to keep the land, and therefore sent deputies to England to obtain a grant from George the First, not only for Schohary, but for more land in addition. But the plans did not succeed according to their wishes, for in the first place the deputies had to leave secretly and embarked at Philadelphia in 1718. As soon as they got to

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sea they fell into the hands of pirates, who robbed them as well as the crew of their money, but then let them free.

"My father, who was one of the deputies, was three times tied up and flogged, but would not confess to having money; finally, William Scheff, the other deputy, said to the pirates, 'This man and I have a purse in common and I have already given it to you, he has nothing to give you.' Upon which they let him go free. The ship had to put into Boston to purchase necessaries for the crew and passengers in place of those taken by the pirates. When they reached England they found times had changed and that there was no longer a Queen Anne on the throne. They still found some of the old friends and advocates of the Germans among whom were the chaplains at the King's German Chapel, Messrs. Boehm and Roberts, who did all in their power. The affairs of the deputies finally reached the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations and the Governor of New York, Robert Hunter, was called home. In the meanwhile the deputies got into debt; Walrath, the third deputy, became homesick, and embarked on a vessel bound to New York, but died at sea. The other two were thrown into prison; they wrote in time for money, but owing to the ignorance and over-confidence of the persons who had the money to transmit which the people had collected, it reached England very slowly. In the meanwhile Robert Hunter had arrived in England, had arranged the sale of the Schohary lands in his own way, before the Board of Trade and Plantations. The opposite party was in prison, without friends or money. Finally when a bill of exchange for 70 pounds sterling arrived, they were released from prison, petitioned anew, and in the end got an order to the newly arrived governor of New York, William Burnett, to grant vacant land to the Germans who had been sent to New York by the deceased Queen Anne.

"Towards the end of 1720 this William Burnett arrived in New York. In the commencement of 1721 I was sent to New York with a petition to Governor Burnett. He appeared friendly and stated what kind of an order from the Lords of Trade and Plantations he brought with him, which he was resolved to

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comply with, but deputies were yet in England, not content with the decision, but could get nothing more done. In the last-named year, viz.: 1721, William Scheff returned home, having quarreled with my father; they both had hard heads. At last, in November, 1723, my father also returned. Scheff died six weeks after his return.

"Governor Burnett gave patents for land to the few who were willing to settle in the Maqua country, namely, in Stony Arabia, and above the Falls, but none on the river, as the people hoped. They, therefore, scattered. The larger part removed to the Maqua country or remained in Schohary and bought the land from the before-named rich men.

"The people got news of the land on Suataro and Tulpehocken, in Pennsylvania; many of them united and cut a road from Schohary to the Susquehanna River, carried their goods there, and made canoes, and floated down the river to the mouth of the Suataro Creek (Swatara), and drove their cattle over land. This happened in 1723. From there they came to Tulpehocken, and this was the origin of the Tulpehocken settlement. Others followed this party and settled there, at first, also, without the permission of the proprietary of Pennsylvania or his commissioners; also against the consent of the Indians from whom the land had not yet been purchased. There was no one among the people to govern them, each one did as he pleased, and their obstinancy has stood in their way ever since."

Conrad Weiser did not move to Pennsylvania with the first group of settlers in 1723, but remained in Schohary until 1729, when he, with his wife and family, moved to Pennsylvania and settled on the Tulpehocken.

As soon as he arrived there he identified himself with the Lutheran Church of the settlement, which had already been organized before his coming. Being a man of deep religious feeling, he soon felt himself repulsed, however, by the dissensions within this congregation, and we can well understand how he was attracted by the religious fervor and mysticism of Beissel, the leader of the Ephrata Cloister Community.

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For a time Weiser seems to have found contentment in his association with the Cloister Community, but he was too shrewd and critical an observer not to take notice of the weaknesses and shortcomings of Beissel.

We have a letter written by Weiser when he severed his connections with the Ephrata Community, showing the deeper reasons which prompted him to take this step. The letter is addressed to Beissel, after stating that he (Weiser) and other members of the Ephrata Community had long protested in vain against the domination and the suppression of innocent minds, the prevailing pomp and luxury, both in dress and magnificent buildings, etc., it reads as follows:

"For these and other reasons which I reserve for myself to state them at a fitting opportunity, I take leave of your young, but already decrepit sect, and I desire henceforth to be treated as a stranger, especially by you, the presiding officers. I make a distinction between the innocent minds and you, and hope the time will come, when they shall be liberated from their physical and spiritual bondage, under which they are groaning. I protest once more against you, the overseers, who feed yourselves and do not spare the flock, but scatter and devour them. I hope the end is near and deliverance will come. . . . I am in earnest; you may ridicule me as much as you please.

"Herewith I conclude and live in hope that the time will come when all knees shall bow before the name of Jesus, even those of such proud saints who publicly declare rather to burn in hell than bow before Him.

"Why dost thou exalt thyself, poor earth? The judgment of God can humble thee in a moment. Do it rather willingly; it is no disgrace, for the heathen are His inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth His possession. He is King of all kings, and a Lord of all lords. Worship, majesty and power belong to Him, for the Father has made all things subject to Him. He will give His honor to no other, nor His glory to the mighty. He is the Lord and beside Him there is no Saviour.

"If there is any one not satisfied with my statement, let him convince me to the contrary. Victory belongs to truth. The authority of man has no power. To be silent is good at times, but in this case it would be bad. If you have anything to say in your defense, or undertaken a reformation, let me know, for I shall be glad to hear it.

"Finally, I remain a friend of truth and sincerity, and of all those who love them, but a sworn enemy of all lies and hypocrisy. Farewell,

CONRAD WEISER."

September 3, 1743.

During the first decade of Weiser's residence in Pennsylvania his chief interest was centered on the religious questions and movements which agitated the colony at this period. As he

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had been attracted by the Ephrata sect, so he felt himself drawn to the Moravians who appeared at that time in Pennsylvania and developed great missionary activity under such leaders as Bishop Spangenberg and Count Zingendorf. From these he imbibed his deep interest in missionary work among the Indians and the lofty idea of civilizing the latter by conversion and education. Moreover, Zingendorf's beautiful plan of uniting the various German sects and denominations into one general union of Protestant Christians found an enthusiastic advocate and supporter in Weiser.

His greatest and most effective activity Weiser developed, however, in the service of the government of the colony. As early as 1731 his friend Shikellimy, chief of the Six Nations with headquarters at Shamokin, came to Weiser and persuaded him to accompany him (Shikellimy) as his interpreter to the provincial council at Philadelphia. Here Weiser met the official heads of the Province, and from now on to the end of his life he was recognized as the official interpreter of Provincial Pennsylvania, respected and trusted by the Indians as well as by the colonists. For this position he was especially fitted not only by his intimate knowledge of the character, the language and customs of the Indians, acquired when he lived with the Mohawks during his youth, but also by his innate tact, his integrity and his diplomatic skill. In fact, it was Weiser who, by his far-sighted policy, guided the provincial leaders of Pennsylvania in their dealings with the Indians, but also he was instrumental indirectly in shaping the future destiny of the American nation. Or, as Captain H. M. M. Richards in his address on "Our Country's Debt to Conrad Weiser" has ably expressed it:

"By Weiser's instrumentality our country was preserved to English Domination, a work which has placed not only our country but the entire world under the debt which is being so tardily acknowledged.

A great crisis was arising in the affairs of America in 1732, just when the man selected by God to avert it began to take part in the public affairs of Pennsylvania.

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"Stretched along a narrow fringe of the Atlantic Ocean were to be found the colonies under dominion of the British crown. Encircling them to the west was a continuous line of strong French forts and outposts, stretching from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. It was the constant aim of the latter to become masters of the entire land, and they hoped to do so by gradually straightening their offensive lines until, figuratively speaking, they had pushed their opponents into the sea.

"With this vast territory at stake, and with but a limited number of white people available, the co-operation of the Indians became a necessity. Every nerve was stretched by both parties to this end. Whoever should succeed in gaining the red man as an ally was bound to be victorious.

"There were two great aboriginal nations whose friendship and alliance were sought by both parties. Every known means and artifice of the day being used for that purpose.

"One of these was the Delaware tribe, to which may be added the Shawnee, then located to the west in Ohio. The other embraced the Iroquois or Six Nations, comprising the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca tribes, to which, in 1712, was added the Tuscaroras.

"The old legend is that in the distant past Leni Lenape (original people) or Delawares, as they journeyed eastward from the far west were beset by a powerful, hostile tribe on the Mississippi River.

"To overcome their foes they willingly accepted the aid offered by the Mengwe or Iroquois. This alliance continued until the end of the migration eastward, when eventually, the Delawares settled in Pennsylvania while the Iroquois occupied the region along the Great Lakes.

"In time hostilities broke out between the former friends and the Iroquois claimed that they overcame the Delawares fairly in battle and made them their vassals. On the other hand the Delawares asserted that it was through a despicable artifice they consented to allow the Iroquois to become merely their protectors, and, to that end, donned the petticoat of a woman.

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"From that day, when the Delawares ascertained how they had been duped there existed a bitter animosity between the two bodies, which nothing could heal.

"The advent of Weiser upon the scene found the Delawares, then a weakened tribe, occupying his own Pennsylvania, with their friends, the Shawnees, largely in the western part, and the Six Nations, or Iroquois, constantly growing in strength, covering all that territory in New York which served as a barrier between the French in Canada and English to the south.

"To accomplish their aim the French were constantly intriguing with all the various Indian tribes to gain them over. Allied with the Iroquois it would seem as if nothing could prevent a successful invasion from the north. Having the Delawares with them they hoped to split the colonies in twain by a raid into Pennsylvania through the gateway of the Upper Susquehanna.

"To bring their plans to naught it devolved upon the English to frustrate them. There was no man living being able to handle this intricate problem save Conrad Weiser. Knowing to the full the strength of the Iroquois, amongst whom he had been brought up, and realizing as well the comparative weakness of the Delawares, amongst whom he lived, he unhesitatingly cast in the lot of the Province with the former, and threw over the latter. He was not blind to the fact that in so doing his beloved Province would be deluged with blood, its people, and his own neighbors massacred, their homes destroyed, their wives and little ones killed or carried into captivity, and the land filled with the cries of widows, orphans and sufferers; and yet, beyond and above all that, he had a vision of victory which would sweep French dominion from North America, to be followed by a free and mighty nation which should shape the destiny and affairs of the entire world.

"There were many steps to this end. For thirty years it was his aim to keep the savage neutral, and it was his wisdom alone which succeeded in so doing. His first step was to induce the Province to recognize the supremacy of the Six Nations. With one foot on the Delawares he caressed the Iroquois and con-

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demned the French. In a short time the Governor was persuaded to pursue the same policy.

"The Penns had made it a rule to purchase honestly titles for all property acquired from the Indians. With the advent of the settlers at Tulpehocken in 1723, on the border land, the Iroquois began to realize the value of the land, and demanded payment for the same, claiming that, as masters of the Delawares, it belonged to them and that the latter had no right to sell without their consent. To retain their friendship such payment was made by the advice of Weiser.

"In 1742 a conference was called for the purpose of remunerating the Six Nations for that portion of the land purchased from them in 1736, which lay west of the Susquehanna River. The Delawares were not even invited to attend, but merely told they might be present at their own expense. Complaint was made to the Governor by the Iroquois that people were daily settling on the Juniata Valley lands and spoiling the hunting. He was asked to remove them. This he promised to do but called attention to the fact that a number of Delaware Indians above the source of the Lehigh River, on the Minisink lands, had refused to give peaceful possession of the territory secured by the 'Walking Purchase.' Then it was that, turning to the Delawares who were present, the Iroquois Chief, Cannassetego, scathingly accused them of dishonesty, gave them no opportunity to defend themselves, and ordered them to remove immediately. They sullenly withdrew to brood over this insult, which was never forgotten. . . . So, for thirty years there was a semblance of peace and neutrality, with the Delawares and Shawnees gradually drifting into the arms of the French, and the Six Nations becoming firmly anchored to the English through the wisdom and untiring efforts of Conrad Weiser. It was a loaded magazine to which was laid a dangerous fuse. The explosion came with the defeat of Braddock in July, 1755, in his ill-fated and mismanaged expedition against Fort Duquesne, and with it there swarmed into eastern Pennsylvania marauding parties of savages, burning, killing, scalping as they went and causing such

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sorrow and misery as we trust may never befall our beloved state again.

"Having secured the friendship of the Six Nations, our country is indebted to Conrad Weiser for his vigilance in preventing the hostile Delawares from penetrating the Blue Range, then the outskirt of settlement, into the lower counties. Had this occurred the progress of civilization would have been kept back for a quarter of a century at least, there would have been no Declaration of Independence, and we would have remained a mere appendage of either Great Britain or France.

"With the opening of hostilities, stockade forts were erected throughout the whole length of the Blue Mountains. A Pennsylvania regiment was formed and Weiser was commissioned a Lieutenant-Colonel on Oct. 31, 1755, and given command of the first battalion, guarding all approaches and defences between the Susquehanna and the Delaware Rivers. Even though small parties of the enemy crept through from time to time, doing much harm before they returned, yet these positions were never permanently forced by any hostile bodies of reasonable size, and all efforts to actually invade Pennsylvania were frustrated.

"The French and Indian War did not end until 1759, but hostilities ceased in Pennsylvania by the end of 1757, and this is but another of the debts owing to Conrad Weiser by his country. Through his wisdom the powerful Six Nations were secured as allies and victory thereby assured the British cause. While this brought about the Delaware outbreak under the banner of France, with much suffering, yet the war had hardly begun when the far-seeing and experienced Conrad Weiser saw the advantages to be gained by diplomatic efforts and peace overtures. Fortunately his views were entirely in accord with those of the dominant Quaker element, whose principles were of peace and not of war, and who were entirely willing to give material sums of money to accomplish the desired result in this way, while they were most unwilling to contribute a farthing towards the necessary expenses of the war. The government at once fell heartily in accord with the project.

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"Taking advantage of the mastery claimed by the Six Nations over the Delawares, with the aid of Sir William Johnson, New York, the Iroquois Chiefs were prompted to send messengers to the Delawares and Shawnees reminding them that they were their vassals and asking why they had taken up arms against their friends the English. Conferences were held by Weiser with Teedyuscung, the great Delaware Chief, whose heart was with the English rather than with the French, his aid was secured and at last a great gathering of representatives of both the Six Nations and the Delawares met in conference at Easton, lasting from July 21 to August 7, 1757, which ended most happily, and not only was peace practically assured, but the Delawares were so placated that they went away happy at the thought of a restored manly standing. Teedyuscung was especially honored and deserved it.

"It only remained to secure the final consent of some of the extreme western tribes. To that end the active cooperation of the Moravian Missionary, Frederick Post, was secured, whose tireless labors, in the midst of greatest difficulties and personal danger to himself, finally met with success. The alienation of the Indians from the French was completely effected, resulting in the destruction of Fort Duquesne and total abandonment of the hard fought field of the enemy."

In view of the fact that Weiser, during his long and successful career had made the greatest sacrifices in the interest of the settlers on the Pennsylvania frontier, the declining years of his life present a rather tragic aspect. Instead of receiving the eternal gratitude of the frontiersmen, he was bitterly criticised for having the Iroquois kept loyal while making enemies of the Delawares. His determination to do justice to the Indians so enraged the frontiersmen who demanded a scalp-bounty that they threatened to kill him. Many turned against him when he accepted the Governor's Commission as Colonel, charging him to organize the defence of the country during the French-Indian war. The French, as was to be expected, offered a reward for his scalp. Many looked upon him with envy, others with suspicion because he was of the Governor's party and served the interests of the

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Proprietaries, about whose delay of defensive measures during the French-Indian war the frontiersmen were greately infuriated.

And yet Weiser was busy day and night in the defence of his fellow citizens; everywhere his forces were repelling the savage Indians in their incursions, for inspite of his failing health, he was as brave, vigilant and active as ever.

On a visit to his farm at Womelsdorf, near Reading, Weiser died suddenly on July 13, 1760, from what was then called a violent colic.

Not until he was gone was it realized by friends and foes what a loss the colony had incurred and many were the expressions of grief and regret. The finest and most lasting tribute was paid him, however, by President Washington who, on a visit to his grave, said:

"Posterity cannot forget his services."

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Dr. Ernst Hermann Arnold.

Mit dem am 9. März 1929 in Atlantic City erfolgten Ableben des Herrn Dr. E. H. Arnold ist ein höchst interessantes Leben zum Abschluß gekommen, welches in der Geschichte des amerikanischen Deutschtums nicht übersehen werden sollte.

Ernst Hermann Arnold wurde am 11. Februar 1865 in Erfurt, Deutschland, als Sohn des Herrn Dr. Johann Bruno Arnold, Homeopath und zu gleicher Zeit Chef-Ingenieur der königlich-preußischen Eisenbahnen, und Frau Ernestine, geborene Orzakowski, Tochter eines polnischen Flüchtlings, deren Mutter aber deutsch-hugenottischen Ursprungs war, geboren. Sein Großvater Johann Arnold war ein Veteran der napoleonischen Kriege von 1813—1814 und Gendarmerieoffizier in Halle. Man kann sich deshalb leicht vorstellen, welche verschiedenartigen Einflüsse auf die geistige Entwicklung des jungen Mannes eingewirkt haben müssen.

Arnold erhielt seine erste vorbereitende Erziehung in der Realschule in Halle, kam im Jahre 1883 nach Amerika und fand sofort Anstellung an der Amerikanischen Turnerzeitung in Milwaukee, für welche er litterarisch wie auch als reisender Vertreter bis zum Jahre 1887 tätig war. Im Jahre 1888 erhielt er sein Zeugnis als Lehrer von der Normal-Turnlehrerschule in Milwaukee und sofort eine Anstellung als Turnlehrer in Trenton, N. J. Dort verblieb er bis zum Jahre 1891, um dann in Halle und Leipzig Orthopedie zu studieren, worauf er seine medizinischen Studien an der Yale Universität fortsetzte. Nach weiterem Studium in Halle und Leipzig erhielt er eine Anstellung als Direktor der New Haven Normalschule für Gymnastik, während welcher Zeit er ebenfalls als Arzt praktizierte und seine besondere Aufmerksamkeit der orthopedischen Wundarznei widmete. Infolge seiner besonderen Fähigkeiten in diesem Gebiete wurden ihm manche Ehren zuteil, so zum Beispiel auch die Ernennung zum Chef der New Haven Orthopedic Dispensary und Lehrer klinischer Wundarznei an der Yale Universität. Während des Weltkrieges diente er als Vorsitzer des Ko-

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mitees für Rekonstruktionserziehung der medizinischen Abteilung der Armee der Ver. Staaten.

Dr. Arnold verneinte in keiner Weise seine deutsche Abstammung und beteiligte sich in lebhafter Weise an den Wohltätigkeitsbestrebungen zu Gunsten der darbenden Bevölkerung und besonders die Kriegsbeschädigten, wofür die deutsche Regierung ihn besonders ehrte.

Auch als Schriftsteller war Dr. Arnold sehr tätig und viele seiner erzieherischen Werke wurden in den Kreisen der medizinischen Profession hoch anerkannt und vielfach als Lehrbücher verwendet.

Dr. Arnold heiratete im Jahre 1889 Frl. Marie Nagel, die Tochter von August und Marie Nagel, in Trenton, N. J., welcher Ehe zwei Kinder entsprossen, Marie Ernestine, verheiratet mit Joachim Heinrich Meyer, und Dr. H. Bruno Arnold, welche mit der Mutter den Verstorbenen überlebten.

Dr. Arnold war ein Mitglied der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois und gehörte vielen ärztlichen und anderen Vereinigungen an, wie auch der Steuben Gesellschaft von Amerika. Unsere Gesellschaft hat durch seinen Tod ein treues Mitglied verloren, dessen tatenreiches Leben vielen Deutsch-Amerikanern als Beispiel dienen sollte.

Charles A. Wacker.

Nach einem langen, inhaltsreichen und erfolgreichen Leben hat der Schnitter Tod am 31. Oktober 1929 uns eins unserer besten Mitglieder entrissen, Charles H. Wacker, welcher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois seit ihrer Gründung im Jahre 1900 angehörte und unsere Arbeiten und Bestrebungen immer in der freigebigsten Weise unterstützte.

Geboren am 29. August 1856 in Chicago als Sohn von Frederick und Catharina (Hummel) Wacker, besuchte Charles H. Wacker hier in Chicago die öffentlichen Schulen und später die Lake Forest Academy, um dann zum Abschluß seiner akademischen Erziehung seine Studien in Stuttgart, Deutschland, und an der

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Universität in Genf in der Schweiz fortzusetzen. Von 1876 bis 1879 bereiste er dann Europa, Afrika und die gesamten Vereinigten Staaten und kehrte dann nach Chicago zurück, um praktisch in das Leben einzutreten. Seine Karriere begann er als Laufbursche in einer Getreide-Maklersfirma, aber bereits im Jahre 1880 schloß er sich seinem Vater an in der Gründung der Mälzerei — Friedrich Wacker and Son —, aus welcher später die Wacker & Birk Brewing and Malting Company entstand. Nach dem Tode seines Vaters im Jahre 1884 wurde Charles H. Wacker Präsident und Schatzmeister dieser Firma, welche Stelle er bis zum Jahre 1889 einnahm, in welchem Jahre das ganze Unternehmen an das englische Syndikat verkauft wurde. Herr Wacker war auch mehrere Jahre lang Präsident der McAvoy Brewing Company und nachdem er alle seine Interessen in diesen Unternehmungen veräußert hatte, widmete er sich zuerst besonders der Chicago Heights Land Association und der Chicago Heights Terminal Transfer Railroad Company. Er war fernerhin Direktor in mehreren sehr großen Geschäftsunternehmungen, wie z. B. der Corn Exchange National Bank, der Illinois Merchant Trust Company, der Calumet & Chicago Canal & Dock Company, der Chicago Title & Trust Company, der Republic Iron and Steel Company und der Chicago Auditorium Association.

So sehr er auch an der Entwicklung von geschäftlichen Unternehmungen interessiert war, so schenkte er aber noch größeres Interesse komunalen Entwicklungen. Während seines ganzen Lebens schenkte er sozialen Entwicklungen die größte Aufmerksamkeit und ließ keine Gelegenheit vorübergehen, seine Zeit für solche Angelegenheiten zur Verfügung zu stellen. Frühzeitig während der Zeit der World's Columbian Exposition (Weltausstellung von 1893) diente er als Direktor derselben in hervorragender Weise.

Für über zwanzig Jahre stand er an der Spitze der Bewegung, Chicago zur wirklichen und der schönsten Gartenstadt der Welt zu machen, und so wurde er im Jahre 1909 Vorsitzer der damals geschaffenen Chicago Plan Commission. Der Originalplan für die Verbesserung und Entwicklung der Stadt rührte allerdings von dem berühmten Architekten Daniel Hudson Burnham her und war auf Veranlassung des City Club of Chicago ausgearbeitet worden.

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Als der Plan der Stadtverwaltung unterbreitet worden war, ernannte Mayor Busse Charles H. Wacker zum dauernden Vorsitzer der Commission, und was Herr Wacker in dieser Stellung ausführte, wurde von der Stadt und der ganzen Bevölkerung in solcher Weise anerkannt, daß noch zu seinen Lebzeiten die umgebaute South Water Street auf seinen Namen umgetauft wurde.

Während der Jahre 1904 und 1905 war Charles H. Wacker Vize-Präsident und dann Präsident des Merchants Club, und unter seiner Leitung als solcher wurden viele Verbesserungen in der Stadtverwaltung vorgeschlagen und durchgeführt, die allgemeinen Anklang fanden.

In Verbindung mit diesen Arbeiten für das öffentliche Wohl der Stadt übernahm Herr Wacker auch die Leitung der Chicago Relief and Aid Society, aus welcher sich das Chicago Bureau of Charities entwickelte, dessen erster Präsident Herr Wacker war. So war er ebenfalls ein Direktor des Chicago Chapters des American Red Croß, des Chicago Council of Social Agencies und der Illinois Social Hygiene League, wie er auch in einer Menge weiterer Wohltätigkeitsanstalten und Unternehmungen regen Anteil nahm.

Um sein Interesse für Kunst und künstlerische Bestrebungen zu zeigen sei hier nur angedeutet, daß er Jahre lang mit dem Art Institute of Chicago in leitender Stelle verbunden war, er wurde zum Ehrenmitglied des Chicago Chapter of the American Institute of Architects erwählt, er war Mitglied des „Palette und Chisel Club", der Artists Guild, des Arts Clubs, der Cliff Dwellers, und ein lebenslängliches Mitglied des Field Museum of Natural History. Jahre lang war er im Direktorat der Auditorium Association, war einer der Männer, die den Garantiefund für das Theodore Thomas Orchester zusammenbrachten und dadurch das Chicago Symphony Orchester zu einer Möglichkeit machten; er war Direktor der Civic Music Association und der Chicago Band Association, Ehrenpräsident des Chicago Singvereins.

Daß er seine deutsche Abstammung nicht vergaß, geht daraus hervor, daß er auch in allen bedeutenden deutsch-amerikanischen Unternehmungen eine führende Rolle spielte. Er war Mitglied des Schwaben-Vereins und der Turngemeinde, deren Arbeiten und

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Ziele er in jeder nur möglichen Weise förderte. Beim Ausbruch des Weltkrieges war er Präsident der Deutsch- und Oesterreich-Ungarischen Hülfsgesellschaft und war auch in der Nachkriegszeit immer bereit, mit offener Hand alle unternommenen Hülfsaktionen zu unterstützen.

Es würde zu weit führen, auf alle Einzelheiten seiner weit ausgedehnten Tätigkeit einzugehen, doch sei hier noch angegeben, daß er den folgenden Clubs angehörte: Chicago, Commercial, University, Union League, Bankers, Chicago Athletic, German, Germania, Racquet, Mid-Day, Iroquois, Onwentsia, City Club, Lake Geneva Country, Chicago Yacht und Lake Geneva Yacht Club.

Trotz all der gewaltingen Erfolge in seinem Leben, trotz all der Ehren, mit welchen er überhäuft wurde, blieb Charles H. Wacker immer der leutselige Mann, der auch mit dem geringsten seiner Mitbürger in demokratischer Weise zu verkehren verstand, und sich dadurch eine große Zahl von Freunden in allen Lebenskreisen schuf.

Charles H. Wacker war zweimal verheiratet, er heiratete seine erste Frau, Ottlie M. Glade, im Jahre 1887, welche ihm am 26. Oktober 1904 durch den Tod entrissen wurde. Dieser Ehe entstammten drei Kinder: Frederick G. Wacker, Charles H. Wacker, Jr., und Frau Rosalie Wacker Zimmermann. Am 19. März 1919 heiratete er Frl. Ella Todtmann, welche ihn mit seinen Kindern aus erster Ehe überlebt.

Eine dauernde schwere Erkrankung zwang den tätigen Mann, sich im Jahre 1926 von jeder aktiven Arbeit zurückzuziehen, aber mit ungebrochenem Mute hielt er am Leben fest, bis er am eingangs angegebenen 31. Oktober 1929 in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, seinem Sommerheime, durch den Tod von seinen Leiden erlöst wurde. In unauffallender Weise, wie er gelebt, wurde er am 2. November desselben Jahres auf dem Graceland Friedhofe in Chicago zur letzten Ruhe gebettet.

Mit dem Ableben von Charles H. Wacker ist ein reiches Leben zum Abschluß gekommen, welches einen dauernden Platz im Andenken seiner vielen Freunde, in der Geschichte des Chicagoer Deutschtums und in der Geschichte seiner Vaterstadt behalten wird.

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Leo Ernst.

Mit dem Tode von Leo Ernst ist ein Mann aus dem deutschen Leben Chicagos getreten, der sich in allen Kreisen, den deutschen sowohl wie den amerikanischen, des höchsten Ansehens erfreute und von seinen Freunden, besonders denjenigen, die ihn näher kannten, aufs Höchste geschätzt wurde wegen seines menschenfreundlichen Wesens, seiner stillen Wohltätigkeit und seiner zurückhaltenden Bescheidenheit, die jede offene Anerkennung scheute.

Geboren am 6. November 1853 in Baden, Deutschland, besuchte er dort die öffentlichen Schulen und kam dann mit seinen Eltern im Jahre 1865 nach Chicago, wo er in dem berühmten Dyrenforth'schen Business College seine Erziehung vervollständigte. Jedermann, der die Gründlichkeit der Erziehung kennt, die den Schülern in Dyrenforth's College zuteil wurde, weiß, daß damit für einen Mann wie Leo Ernst die Grundlage und der Wunsch für weitere Selbsterziehung gelegt wurde und das praktische Leben machte einen Mann aus ihm, dessen Rat in allen Lebenslagen gerne eingeholt wurde.

Leo Ernst begann seine geschäftliche Tätigkeit in dem Bankgeschäfte von Henry Greenebaum, wo er drei Jahre lang blieb, um dann als Buchhalter in die Brauerei von Bartholomae & Leicht einzutreten. Dort arbeitete er acht Jahre lang und erlernte das Brauereigewerbe aufs gründlichste. Er wurde dann Geschäftsführer einer Brauerei in Philadelphia, wo er von 1882 bis 1884 verblieb, um dann nach Chicago zurückzukehren, um mit seinen Brüdern Charles E. und Otto die Ernst Brothers Brewing Company zu gründen, deren Präsident er bis zum Jahre 1890 blieb. Er wurde dann Präsident der Independent Brewing Association, nun die Prima Company und auch als die Primalt Products Company bekannt, deren Geschäfte er bis zu seinen Ableben leitete.

Trotzdem Leo Ernst geschäftlich eine bedeutende Rolle spielte, so fand er doch Zeit, sich wenn auch in stiller Weise politisch zu betätigen, ohne jedoch, wie so viele andere in seiner Lebensstellung, sich um politische Lorbeeren zu bemühen, doch war er in dem Kampfe für persönliche Freiheit einer der mächtigsten Führer. Er war ein sehr belesener Mann und interessierte sich besonders für deutsche

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und amerikanische Geschichte, Politik und Volkswirtschaft, was ihm in vielen Fällen gut zu statten kam. Während des Krieges beteiligte er sich lebhaft an allen Angelegenheiten, die im Interesse des deutschen Kulturgedankens veranstaltet wurden und vertrat den Standpunkt, der heutzutage von allen eingeweihten und Gerechtigkeit liebenden Leuten vertreten wird. Er wurde deshalb von vielen Seiten scharf angegriffen, was ihn aber nicht hinderte, in ruhiger Weise seine Prinzipien zu verfechten. Die sich während und nach dem Kriege entwickelnden Verhältnisse und Anschauungen, draußen sowohl wie hier in den Vereinigten Staaten, dem Lande, welches er als sein wirkliches Vaterland betrachtete, bereiteten ihm ernste Enttäuschungen, so daß er sich von jeder öffentlichen Betätigung zurückzog, wodurch er von vielen Seiten als ein verbitterter Einsiedler betrachtet wurde, was er in Wirklichkeit aber nicht war, denn im Stillen half er seinen in Bedrängnis geratenen Freunden und Bekannten in solcher Weise, wie es seine Verhältnisse gestatteten.

Er hatte sich im Jahre 1893 mit Frl. Louise C. Fuerst verheiratet, aus welcher Ehe vier Söhne entsprangen: Norman, Hilmar, Wainwright und Matthew. Er war ein liebevoller Gatte und Vater, dessen Andenken von seinen Hinterbliebenen und Freunden in herzlicher Weise niemals vergessen werden wird. Er starb am 16. Dezember 1929 und wurde am 18. Dezember auf dem Rosehill Friedhofe zur letzten Ruhe beigesetzt.

August Lueders.

Mit dem am 18. Dezember 1929 erfolgten Tode August Lueders ist eine der interessantesten Personen aus dem deutsch-amerikanischen Leben Chicagos geschieden, ein Mann, welcher durch eigene Tatkraft sich von der Stelle eines einfachen Arbeiters zum hoch angesehenen Manne emporgearbeitet hatte, ein Mann, welcher in seinem langen Leben nicht die Leiden und Entbehrungen vergaß, die er selbst durchzumachen hatte und deswegen die Lage solcher Menschen zu beurteilen wußte, denen das Schicksal nicht zu hold gewesen.

August Lueders wurde am 24. August 1853 in Armstedt, Schleswig-Holstein, geboren und kam im Jahre 1868 mit seinen

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Eltern nach Chicago, wo er seine Kenntnisse, die er zuerst in einer guten Schule in seiner Heimat erworben, auszudehnen suchte. Da aber die Eltern nicht mit Glücksgütern überhäuft waren, mußte er frühzeitig an die Arbeit gehen und arbeitete zuerst 7 Monate lang für die damals gut bekannte Firma Schober und Heinemann, später als Anstreicher für W. Reason und machte zu der Zeit seine ersten bemerkenswerten Erfahrungen während des Chicagoer Feuers, welches er voll und ganz miterlebte, da er sich trotz seiner Jugend ernst am Rettungswerk beteiligte. Er hatte sich frühzeitig dem Aurora Turnverein angeschlossen und wurde durch seine übermäßige Stärke bald in weiteren Vereinskreisen bekannt, was ihm auch die Gelegenheit gab, sich frühzeitig im politischen Leben zu betätigen.

Im Jahre 1874 wurde er auf Empfehlung seiner Freunde bei der städtischen Polizei angestellt, wo er sich einen ausgezeichneten Namen erwarb und wo ihm weitere Gelegenheit gegeben wurde, seine Bekanntschaftskreise auszudehnen. Während er als Polizist, größtenteils in der unteren Stadt und im Bezirk an der Harrison Straße diente, lernte er seine künftige Frau, Frl. Lena Freese kennen, mit der er im Jahre 1879 die Ehe schloß und mit welcher er in glücklicher Ehe bis zu ihrem Tode zusammenlebte.

Im Jahre 1882 resignierte er vom Polizeidienst und trat eine Stelle als Agent bei der Westside Brewery an, wodurch sein Bekanntenkreis auch weiterhin vermehrt wurde und ihm die Gelegenheit geboten wurde, praktisch in die Politik einzutreten. Jeder, der sich erinnert, was in diesen Jahren die Stelle eines Brauereiagenten bedeutete, kann sich leicht erklären, was dies für den ehrgeizigen und strebsamen August Lueders bedeutete. Nach einigen Jahren, während welchen er in Gesang- und Turnervereinen und auch besonders in Wirtskreisen eine führende Stelle eingenommen hatte, trat er in die Dienste der Manhattan Brewery und wurde einer der Führer und der offizielle Vertreter des Chicagoer Wirtsvereine, wie auch des staatlichen Wirtsverbandes und ebenfalls in der nationalen Wirtsbewegung, welche damals bereits einen schweren Kampf gegen die „blauen" Gesetze und Prohibition zu kämpfen hatten.

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In diesen Jahren wurde er auch Ehrenmitglied des Schleswig-Holsteiner Vereins von Cincinnati, er gehörte dem schleswig-holsteinischen Veteranenverein von 1848—1850 an und leitete die fünfzigjährige Erinnerungsfeier an die schleswig-holsteinische Revolution hier in Chicago.

Auch in den Freimaurerkreisen spielte August Lueders eine führende Rolle. Frühzeitig hatte er sich der Lessing-Loge No. 551 dieser Vereinigung angeschlossen. Infolge seines Einflusses unter den deutsch-amerikanischen Stimmgebern wurde er im Jahre 0000 zum Mitglied der Wahlbehörde von Cook County ernannt und versah dieses Amt in redlicher und anerkannter Weise.

Betrauert von der großen Zahl seiner Freunde von fern und nah wurde er am 21. Dezember 1929 in Waldheim zu Grabe getragen. Er hinterließ einen Sohn, Dr. Walter J. Lueders und mehrere Enkelkinder. Mit seinem Tode verlor die Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois ein liebes Mitglied.

Carl C. Roeßler.

Carl C. Roeßler, im Jahre 1872 in Langenburg, Deutschland, geboren, widmete sich nachdem er in Deutschland die öffentlichen und höheren Schulen absolviert hatte, dem Hotelwesen und diente von der Picke auf, wie die Redensart ist, indem er als Lehrling und Kellner in Deutschland, in Frankreich, in der Schweiz und in Italien tätig war, wodurch er sich einen reichen Sprachenschatz und gediegene Kenntnisse in dem von ihm erwählten Lebensberufe aneignete. Er kam im Jahre 1894 von Wien, Oesterreich, nach Chicago, wo er in die Verwaltung des berühmten Bismarck Hotel eintrat. Er verblieb dort 8 Jahre, um dann mit Herrn Max L. Teich die Verwaltung des Congreß Hotels zu übernehmen, worauf die beiden Herren unter dem Namen Roeßler & Teich das Atlantic Hotel (früher Kaiserhof genannt) gründeten.

Herr Roeßler verstand es durch sein freies und aufmunterndes Wesen sich Freunde in allen Gesellschaftskreisen zu schaffen, Freundschaften, die ihm bis an sein Lebensende treu blieben. Er nahm lebhaften Anteil an allen deutschen Bewegungen in Chicago und in den Ver. Staaten und gehörte den einflußreichsten Gesellschaften

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an, was ihm bei seinem hilfsbereiten Herzen gut zu statten kam. Oeffentlich und im Stillen half seine freigebige Hand einem Jeden, den er der Hilfe würdig fand, obgleich er dabei in mancher Weise ausgenützt wurde, was ihn aber nicht abhielt, weiter zu helfen, wo es not tat.

Während der Jahre 1914 bis 1917 war er ein Direktor der Deutschen und Oesterreich-Ungarischen Hilfsgesellschaft, später in der Nachkriegszeit war er in jeder Hilfsaktion zu finden, um der Not in Deutschland, Oesterreich, Ungarn und überall wo die Notlage in deutschen Kreisen Unterstützung forderte, nach Kräften abzuhelfen.

Herr Roeßler gehörte eine Reihe von Jahren der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois an und unterstützte die Gesellschaft in praktischer und selbstloser Weise bis an sein Lebensende.

Herr Roeßler heiratete im Jahre 1898 eine Verwandte, Friedericke Roeßler, welche ihn mit einem Sohne, Ernst Roeßler, welcher sich ebenfalls dem Hotelwesen widmete und in die Fußstapfen seines Vaters trat, überlebt.

Carl C. Roeßler starb am 23. Februar 1930 und wurde am 24. Februar auf dem Graceland Friedhofe zur letzten Ruhe beigesetzt. Mit seinem Ableben hat die Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois, wie auch das gesamte Deutschtum der Stadt Chicago, einen seiner besten Freunde verloren, dessen Andenken ihn für Generationen überleben wird.

Fred R. Minuth.

Nach einem reichen, inhaltsreichen, mühe- und sorgenvollem Leben ist Fred R. Minuth am 16. März 1930 in Grand Haven Michigan, wo er seit 24 Jahren sein Heim machte, nach langwieriger Krankheit im Alter von 76 Jahren gestorben. Mit ihm hat die deutsche Zeitungswelt in Amerika einen Mann verloren, der sich von keinen Hindernissen abschrecken ließ, immer wieder mit neuer Energie und Tatkraft die Feder zu ergreifen, um sein gewaltiges Wissen und seine gründlichen Kenntnisse zum Gemeingut des gesamten Volkes zu machen. Wie so vielen anderen deutschen

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Schriftstellern war es auch ihm nicht vergönnt, goldene Lorbeern zu pflücken, aber sein Name wird mit an erster Stelle stehen, wenn einst eine würdige Geschichte des deutschen Journalismus in Amerika geschrieben werden wird.

Fred R. Minuth wurde am 5. Januar 1854 als Sohn des Landwirts Hermann Minuth in Brüsterort in Ostpreußen geboren und erhielt eine recht gute Erziehung in den öffentlichen Schulen seiner Heimat, die er durch den Besuch der Universität in Königsberg vervollständigte. Früh wandte er sich der journalistischen Tätigkeit zu, indem er zuerst für die Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung arbeitete. Bald aber gründete er mit einigen Freunden die „Ostpreußische Grenzzeitung" in Pillkallen, welche heute noch besteht. Da ihm jedoch die dortigen Verhältnisse nicht das gewünschte Fortkommen boten, kam er im Jahre 1888, nachdem er ein und ein halbes Jahr in Holland gewesen war, zum ersten Male nach Amerika. Im Januar 1890 verheiratete er sich mit Mathilde geb. Blaich aus Hirsau in Württemberg in Philadelphia. Seine erste Frau, die er in Deutschland geheiratet hatte, war nach ungefähr vierjähriger Ehe im Jahre 1884 gestorben. Im Jahre 1894 war er Redakteur an der „Philadelphia Gazette". Im Jahre 1897 ging er mit seiner Familie zurück nach Deutschland. Infolge seiner großen mechanischen Begabung erhielt er eine Anstellung als Ingenieur in Eski-Chekir in der asiatischen Türkei. Dort hatte er große Aussichten sich eine feste Zukunft zu gründen, aber das Klima war zu ungünstig für ihn und er sowohl wie seine ganze Familie erkrankte an der Malaria, sodaß er fast mittellos seine Stelle aufgeben mußte und war er gezwungen, fast zwei Monate lang mit Frau und Kindern im deutschen Hospital in Konstantinopel zu verbleiben, bis es ihnen möglich wurde, wieder nach Deutschland zurückzukehren. Zuerst ging er mit seiner Familie zu seinen Schwiegereltern im Schwarzwald, nahm dann eine Stelle bei Siemens & Halske an, wo er aber nicht lange verblieb und reiste er im Frühjahr 1899 zum zweiten Male nach Amerika. Die Familie blieb zwei Jahre im Schwarzwald, bis sie sich wieder mit dem Vater und Gatten vereinigen konnte.

Zuerst versuchte Minuth sich durch die Gründung der „Zeitungskorrespondenz für Nordamerika" unabhängig zu machen,

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aber das Unternehmen war nur von kurzer Dauer. Da er bestimmte und feste Ansichten hatte und stets für seine eigene Meinung offen und ehrlich eintrat, so gelang es ihm nicht, irgendwo festen Fuß zu fassen und mußte er solche Arbeiten, nicht immer auf journalistischem Gebiete, aufnehmen, wo sie sich boten. Im Jahre 1906 kaufte er eine Farm in der Nähe von Grand Haven, Mich., doch gelang es ihm nicht, dieselbe in passender Weise zu entwickeln, da ihm die Mittel dazu fehlten und auch weil der sandige Boden, grundverschieden von dem seiner Heimaterde, nicht zu verarbeiten war, wie er erhofft hatte.

Immer wieder kehrte Minuth zur Journalistik zurück und gründete dann die Monatsschrift „Der Deutsche Kulturträger", eine Zeitung, in welcher er seinen Standpunkt und seine Lebenserfahrung zur Geltung zu bringen hoffte. Da ihm aber die ersehnte Unterstützung ausblieb (und der Weltkrieg ausbrach), so mußte er auch dieses Unternehmen nach etwa zwei Jahren aufgeben.

Im Jahre 1916 redigierte er für kurze Zeit die „Illinois Staatszeitung" und schrieb geschichtliche und wissenschaftliche Aufsätze für verschiedene Zeitungen, wie auch zum Beispiel für die Chicagoer Abendpost und Sonntagspost, welche allgemeinen Anklang fanden.

Sein zunehmendes Alter machte es ihm unmöglich, mit jüngeren Kräften zu konkurieren und so konnte er keine Stellung in einer mechanischen Werkstatt, die ihm angeboten worden war, annehmen. Er sah sich nach weiterer Beschäftigung um, doch das Glück war ihm nicht hold, da ihm der finanzielle Hintergrund fehlte. So zog er sich in sein Heim in Grand Haven zurück, wo ihm seine Bücher und Versuche und fortgesetzte Korrespondenzen mit leitenden Persönlichkeiten in Deutschland und Amerika eine gewisse geistige Befriedigung schafften und ihm seinen Lebensabend verschönert hätten, wenn die ewige Geldnot nicht das bittere Gewürz gewesen wäre. Während der letzten drei Monate war er meistens ans Bett gefesselt, so daß sein Tod für ihn eine wirkliche Erlösung war.

Er hinterließ seine Witwe, Mathilde geb. Blaich, drei verheiratete Töchter und fünf Söhne und sechs Enkelkinder, die zusammen mit seinen Freunden das Ableben des charakterfesten Mannes tief betrauern.

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Dr. Ludwig Hermann Abele.

Mit dem Ableben des Herrn Dr. Ludwig Hermann Abele ist einer jener stillen und bescheidenen deutschen Gelehrten aus unserer Mitte geschieden, auf welche das Deutschtum Chicago stolz sein kann. Er war ein Mann, welcher sich in keiner Weise vorzudrängen versuchte, aber um so mehr geschätzt und angesehen war bei denjenigen, die ihn näher kannten.

Er wurde am 6. Juli 1865 in Konstanz am Bodensee als Sohn des dortigen Oberzollinspektors Ludwig A. Abele und dessen Frau Maria A. geborene Schaller geboren, besuchte in seiner Heimatstadt die öffentlichen Schulen und das städtische Gymnasium, um dann seine Erziehung an der Universität Freiburg i/Br. fortzusetzen. Er promovierte im Jahre 1891 und war dann bis zum Jahre 1893 Arzt beim Norddeutschen Lloyd, worauf er dann in München die Augenheilkunde als Spezialfach aufnahm und Assistent an der dortigen Universitätsklinik wurde. Vom Jahre 1895 bis 1898 war er zuerst erster Assistent an der kgl. Universitätsklinik in Königsberg und dann zwei Jahre Oberarzt daselbst.

Dr. Abele verheiratete sich am 4. Februar 1901 mit Frl. Antonie G. Nuernberg und kam dann im Jahre 1903 nach Chicago, woselbst er sich als Augenspezialist niederließ. Vom Jahre 1909 bis 1917 war er Vertrauensarzt beim deutschen Generalkonsulat, welche Stelle er infolge des Eintritts der Ver. Staaten in den Weltkrieg niederlegen mußte.

Als Arzt gehörte er dem Stabe des Post-Graduate Hospitals, des St. Joseph, des Alexian Brothers, des Grant und des Evangelical Diaconissen Hospitals an.

Dr. Abele unterstützte in lebhafter Weise alle berechtigten deutschen Bestrebungen in der Stadt und unterstützte die Wohltätigkeitsbestrebungen im Interesse der Notleidenden in Deutschland und Oesterreich-Ungarn in finanzieller und ratgebender Weise, wodurch er in eifriger Weise von seiner hochgeschätzten und wohl bekannten Frau Gemahlin aufs Beste unterstützt wurde.

Mit seinem plötzlich und unerwartet am 12. April 1930 in Florida erfolgten Tode, wohin er sich zu seinem üblichen Frühjahrsurlaub seit den letzten 12 Jahren begeben hatte, verlor das Deutsch-

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tum Chicagos eines seiner besten und hochgeschätzten Mitglieder und die Deutsch-Amerikanisch-Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois einen guten Freund und liebes Mitglied. Seine Leiche wurde auf dem Graceland Friedhofe eingeäschert und wird die Urne dort für ein späteres Begräbnis in Deutschland aufbewahrt. An seinem Sarge hielten Dr. Harvey von der Crane Company, für welche Gesellschaft er seit 21 Jahren die Augenfälle behandelt hatte, Herr Dr. Curt Ossendorff von der Deutschen Medizinischen Gesellschaft, und Consul Dr. Schueller vom Deutschen Generalkonsulat hier treffende Ansprachen, in welchen dem Verstorbenen die ihm gebührende Anerkennung als Nachruf ausgesprochen wurde.

Henry Schoellkopf.

Auf der Heimreise von Deutschland begriffen, wohin er sich zur Wiedererlangung seiner Gesundheit begeben hatte, ist Henry Schoellkopf am 16. April 1930 auf hoher See unerwartet vom Tode ereilt worden. Jahre lang hatte Henry Schoellkopf gelitten, aber mit ungebrochenem Mute alles versucht, seine körperliche Frische wiederherzustellen, um auch weiterhin seine volle Kraft und Energie den vielen Unternehmungen widmen zu können, an welchen er Interesse nahm, viele darunter für deutsch-amerikanische Bestrebungen, in welchen er eine hervorragende Rolle spielte.

Henry Schoellkopf wurde am 27. April 1866 als Sohn von Henry und Emma Schoellkopf, alten Chicagoer Pionieren hier geboren, erhielt seine erste Erziehung in der berühmten Privatschule von Prof. J. P. Lauth, besuchte dann die Universität Chicago und graduierte späterhin vom Union College of Law der Northwestern Universität.

Sein Vater hatte im Jahre 1851 hier in Chicago ein Colonialwarengeschäft gegründet, welches bald eine wohlbekannte und gern besuchte Zusammenkunftsstelle für das hiesige Deutschtum und auch für viele hier geborene Amerikaner wurde, welche dort viele von Deutschland und Europa eingeführte Waren finden konnten, die im Allgemeinen sonst nicht hier zu finden waren. Das Geschäftshaus wurde während des Chicagoer Feuers zerstört, aber sofort nach dem

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großen Brande wieder eröffnet. Nach dem Tode des Vaters übernahm Henry Jr. die Leitung des Unternehmens, bis dasselbe im Jahre 1920 geschlossen wurde und der junge Mann sich dann vollständig der Verwaltung des von seinem Vater ererbten Grundeigentums widmete, neben den vielen deutsch-amerikanischen Unternehmungen, die ihm besonders am Herzen lagen.

Herr Schoellkopf war ein eifriger Turner und gehörte Jahre lang der Chicago Turngemeinde an. In der Vorkriegszeit und auch während des Krieges vertrat er mit anderen Herren, trotz der schwierigen Verhältnisse, deutsche Kulturzwecke und opferte Zeit und Geld für die Erhaltung des deutschen Theaters hier in Chicago. Er war in allen Wohlfahrtsbewegungen für die Kriegsopfer in Deutschland und Oesterreich rege tätig und brachte es durch sein Beispiel fertig, daß auch andere, fern stehendere Kreise ihre Unterstützung nicht versagten.

Henry Schoellkopf war ein treues Mitglied der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois und war immer bereit mit finanzieller Unterstützung, wenn die Not es forderte, um die Druckkosten für unser Jahrbuch zu decken.

Er war Mitglied des Chicago Real Estate Boards, lebenslängliches Mitglied der Chicago Historical Society, Mitglied des Art Institute von Chicago, des Field Museum of Natural History und des Germania Clubs.

Mit seinem Ableben ist eine interessante Persönlichkeit aus dem Leben Chicagos geschieden, betrauert von seinen vielen Freunden, seinen Schwestern und seiner Frau Gemahlin, mit welcher er vor zwei Jahren die Ehe geschlossen hatte.

Professor Karl Pietsch.

Mit dem Ableben von Professor Pietsch hat die deutsche Wissenschaft in Amerika, sowie unser Volkstum in weiterem Sinne einen der besten Vertreter verloren.

In einer kurzen biographischen Skizze hat uns Pietsch selbst erzählt, daß er am 4. Januar 1860 in Stettin geboren wär, die Schulen seiner Vaterstadt besuchte und dann auf der Universität

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Berlin 3 Jahre lang neuere Sprachen studierte. Im Herbst 1887 bestand er sein Doktorexamen und ging dann daran, sich für das Staatsexamen vorzubereiten, als er die Bekanntschaft von Enos M. Barton, dem Präsidenten der Western Electric Co. von Chicago, machte, der seine Frau und drei Kinder nach Berlin zur weiteren Erziehung gebracht hatte und Pietsch bat, den Unterricht der beiden älteren Kinder zu übernehmen. Schon nach der dritten Stunde machte ihm Barton den Vorschlag nach Amerika zu kommen, wo er ihm eine Privatschule gründen wolle. Da die Aussichten auf eine baldige Anstellung in Deutschland bei der damaligen Ueberfüllung des Lehrfaches sehr gering waren, so ging Pietsch auf den verlockenden Vorschlag gerne ein und wanderte im Herbst 1889 nach Amerika aus und folgte seinem Gönner nach Chicago, wo er den Unterricht der Barton'schen Kinder zunächst fortsetzte. Bald sah er jedoch ein, daß er zum Leiter einer Privatschule nicht geeignet sei, und als sich die Gelegenheit bot, an der kürzlich gegründeten Newberry Library durch den Einfluß Bartons anzukommen, nahm er die Stelle mit Freuden an.

Er bekleidete sie bis zum Jahre 1896, wo er einen Ruf als Lehrer des Französischen an der jungen University of Chicago erhielt. Auch den Unterricht im Spanischen übernahm er und widmete sich dieser Sprache, für die durch den spanisch-amerikanischen Krieg und den Erwerb der Philippinen ein Bedürfnis entstanden war, schließlich ganz und mit großem Erfolg. Seinen Schülern eine oberflächliche Kenntnis des Spanischen zu geben, wie es seit der Verdrängung des Deutschen während des Weltkriegs Mode ward und heute noch ist, genügte ihm nicht. Sein Hauptziel war von Anfang an auf die Ausbildung von Lehrern gerichtet, und dabei kam ihm die gründliche philologische Ausbildung, die er in Berlin unter der Leitung des berühmten Romanisten Tobler genossen hatte, vorzüglich zu statten.

Im Jahre 1900 unternahm er eine längere Reise nach Spanien, um in den Bibliotheken dort Material für seine späteren wissenschaftlichen Werke zu sammeln. So entstanden seine meisterhaften syntaktischen Forschungen und die Herausgabe der Spanischen Gral-Fragmente, die seinen Ruf als führender Gelehrter weithin trugen. Unter seinen fortgeschrittenen Schülern, die ihn liebten

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und verehrten, befindet sich heute eine Anzahl Professoren des Romanischen an anderen Universitäten.

Seit 1901 war ihm die provisorische Leitung der romanischen Abteilung an der Chicagoer Universität übertragen worden, legte sie aber im Jahre 1908 nieder, um, wie er sagte, einer jüngeren Kraft Platz zu machen. Im Jahre 1925 ließ er sich pensionieren und kehrte nach Deutschland zurück, wo er am 1. April dieses Jahres starb.

Trotz den Anfeindungen, die Professor Pietsch, wie jeder Deutsche in akademischer Stellung während des Weltkrieges zu erdulden hatte, blieb er seinem Deutschtum treu, vorbildlich als Charakter und als großer Gelehrter eine Zierde deutscher Wissenschaft, der Amerika so viel verdankt.

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Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois.

Bericht des Schriftführers.

Infolge widriger Verhältnisse wurde keine Generalversammlung der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois im vergangenen Jahre einberufen und die Geschäfte der Gesellschaft von den bisherigen Beamten in üblicher Weise weitergeführt.

Das im vergangenen Jahre veröffentlichte Jahrbuch, Band No. XXIX (1929) war hauptsächlich dem Andenken Carl Schurz gewidmet. Das Buch hat allgemein Anklang gefunden und gab in Verbindung mit anderen Veröffentlichungen über Carl Schurz, besonders diese von C. V. Easum, Geschichtslehrer an der Culver Military Academy in Culver, Indiana, betittelt: "The Americanization of Carl Schurz" und veröffentlicht von der University of Chicago Preß, ein prächtiges Denkmal für den berühmten amerikanischen Politiker und Staatsmann, das besonders in Deutschland hoch gepriesen wurde. Dieses Buch schloß sich in passender Weise den vorhergegangenen Veröffentlichungen unserer Gesellschaft an, besonders da es in einem weiteren Artikel auf General von Steuben hinwies, dessen zweihundertjähriger Geburtstag in diesem Jahre gefeiert wird, nicht nur in den Vereinigten Staaten, sondern auch in hervorragender Weise in Deutschland.

Unsere diesjährige Veröffentlichung ist natürlicherweise dem Andenken General von Steubens gewidmet, dessen hervorragende Stellung als Nächster zu Washington in dem glücklichen Erfolg des Befreiungskrieges der dreizehn Kolonien gegen England endlich voll und ganz anerkannt wird. Im Auftrage des Vorstandes hat Herr Professor Goebel eine Reise nach dem Osten gemacht, um weiteres Steubenmaterial zu sammeln, welches ihm, wie aus diesem Bande auch hervorgeht, in glücklicher Weise gelungen ist.

Auch im vergangenen Jahre hat die Germanistic Society of America uns in großzügiger Weise unterstützt und auch in diesem Jahre den Versandt des Jahrbuches an ihre Mitglieder übernommen. Wir sind der Germanistic Society von Amerika besonders dankbar für ihre Unterstützung, da wir dadurch in der Lage waren, auch in diesem Jahre unseren finanziellen Pflichten prompt nachkommen zu können, ohne uns weiterhin nach Unterstützung umsehen zu müssen. Allerdings hat unser Präsident, Herr Dr. Schmidt, wiederum tief in seine eigene Tasche gegriffen und nicht nur die Reise des Herrn Professor Goebel nach dem Osten zum größten Teil möglich gemacht, sondern er hat auch wie in früheren Jahren die

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Portokosten und die Druckerrechnungen für die Büreauarbeiten der Gesellschaft persönlich gedeckt. Die Portokosten und Büreauausgaben waren im vergangenen Jahre ziemlich bedeutend, besonders weil wiederum Hunderte von Briefen ausgesandt wurden, um neue Mitglieder zu gewinnen. Mit welchem Erfolg? — das zeigt leider die Mitgliederliste — drei neue Namen — die Herren Wm. Bartholomay, Ernst J. Kruetgen und Capt. A. F. W. Siebel, welche wir hiermit herzlich in unserer Mitgliederzahl willkommen heißen.

Aus den in unserem Jahrbuche enthaltenen kurzen Nachrufen ist zu ersehen, daß wir manche treue Freunde durch den Tod verloren haben, wie Herrn Chas. H. Wacker, Carl C. Roeßler, August Lueders, Leo Ernst, Henry Schoellkopf, Dr. H. L. Abele, und Dr. E. H. Arnold, der letztere von New Haven, Conn., deren Andenken in würdiger Weise durch die Veröffentlichung in unserem Jahrbuch gewahrt wird.

Dieser Verlust ist für die Gesellschaft ein recht empfindlicher, nicht nur weil sie treue Freunde waren, sondern weil auch dadurch die Zahl unserer Mitglieder eine geringere geworden ist. Wir richten deshalb an unsere Mitglieder die dringende Bitte, Propaganda für unsere Arbeiten und Veröffentlichungen zu machen und jüngere Elemente für die historische Forschung des deutschen Elementes in den Vereinigten Staaten zu interessieren. Gerne senden wir zahlreiche Briefe aus, gerne übernehmen wir persönliche Korrespondenzen, wenn uns passende Namen für solche Werbezwecke zugesandt werden.

Wiederum sahen wir uns gezwungen, unsere Geschäftsstelle zu verändern. Dieselbe befindet sich nun in dem Zimmer 1223, Steuben Bldg., 188 West Randolph Straße, Chicago, Ill., wohin alle Zuschriften für die Gesellschaft zu richten sind, und von wo aus gerne jede gewünschte Auskunft erteilt wird.

Ergebenst unterbreitet

Max Baum, Schriftführer.

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